Google

This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

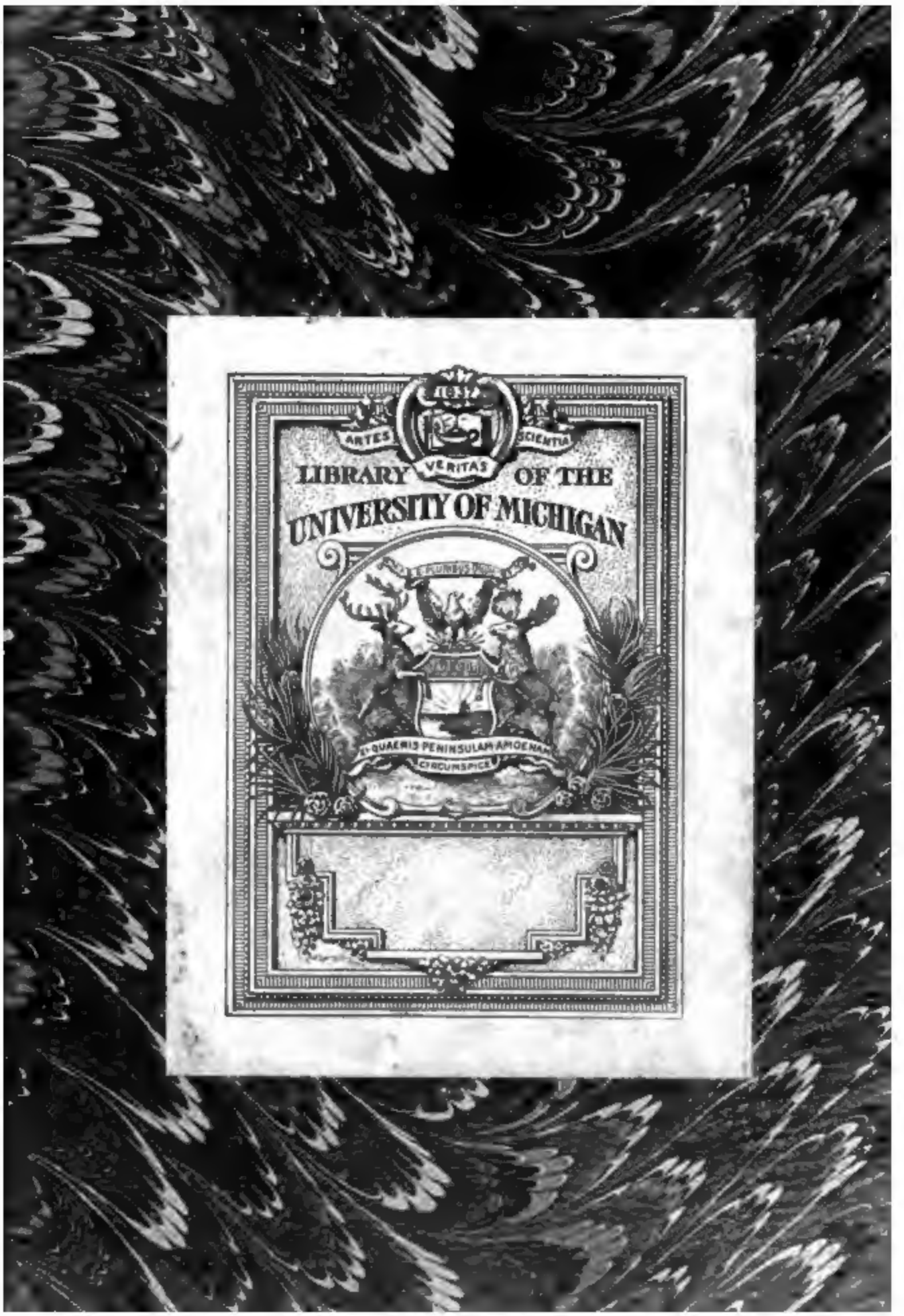
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

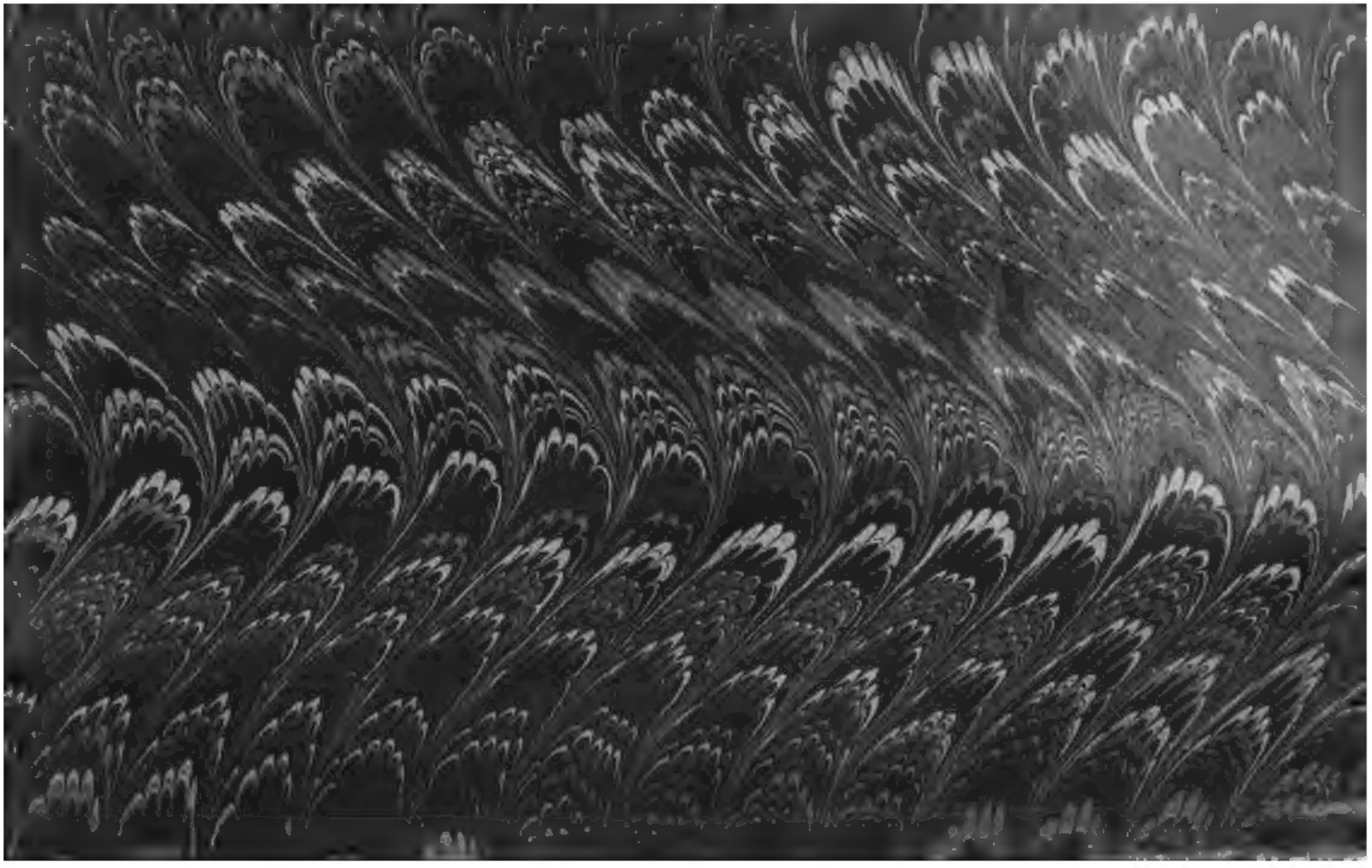
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at http://books.google.com/

A 764,826


ARTES
VERITAS
SCIENTIA
LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
SI QUAERIS PENINSULAM AMOENAM
CIRCUMSPICE



F
74
.L98
J66

CITY HALL, LYNN, MASS.

SKETCHES OF LYNN

OR

THE CHANGES OF FIFTY YEARS

BY
DAVID N. JOHNSON.
LYNN, MASS.

LYNN:
THOS. P. NICHOLS, PRINTER.
1880.

Entered according to Act of Congress in the Office of the Librarian of Congress, June 7, 1880, by DAVID N. JOHNSON.

TO

MY FELLOW-CITIZENS GENERALLY,

AND MORE ESPECIALLY TO

THE MEMBERS OF THE GENTLE CRAFT OF ST. CRISPIN,

WHO, LIKE THE AUTHOR, SPENT THEIR EARLY DAYS IN THE

OLD-TIME SHOEMAKER'S SHOP,

These pages are respectfully Dedicated.

202308

PREFACE.

A preface is often written as an apology for a book. This preface is written for no such purpose. This book was written because the writer had something to say, and wanted to say it; and the preface was written because he had something further to say to his readers.

The writer of the following pages spent a large part of his early years in the old-fashioned shoemaker's shop. Beginning at the age of ten, he passed most of his waking hours for the next twenty years within the narrow limits of some half dozen of these humble structures, using up a large part of daylight in the warm season, and eking out the short days of winter by the aid of two tallow candles, till nine or ten o'clock in the evening. He there got what there was to be learned of the ancient art, and picked up whatever information lay in his way. He heard all sorts of questions discussed, and became familiar with all the lore that could be gathered in these unpretending seminaries. When he was old enough, (and sometimes before,) he took part in these debates. Whatever training such a school could give to fit him for the task he has undertaken, the writer has had; and as the later years of his life have been spent amid the changing scenes and conditions of our growing city, much that is here recorded came within the compass of

his personal knowledge. He has taken no little pains to secure accuracy in the dates and statements here given, and has never been satisfied with anything less than certainty, when that could be reached. But as a perfect book has not yet been seen, it is not unlikely that in the many topics here treated, and the numerous figures employed, some errors will be found.

He believes that the first duty of a writer is to make himself understood. He has therefore used, for the most part, short words and short sentences. Having a high respect for the Saxon element of his native tongue, he has generally chosen it, whenever the choice was offered him. He knows of no one using English as his mother tongue who does not understand it much better than any foreign language; and as this book is to be read by those who thus use English, the writer has made use of no words or phrases which the ordinary reader would be obliged to skip. This ought not to be a peculiarity. If it is, the writer consoles himself with the reflection that the nineteenth century will not be held responsible for the style of his book.

A book of sketches must necessarily be incomplete. Why was this included, and why was that omitted, are questions which readers have a good right to ask, and they will, no doubt, exercise that right; but, as it could not be settled by a commission, the writer decided it himself. As is usual in such cases, topics aside from those included in his original plan forced themselves upon his attention; but after doing the best he could — enlarging his work much beyond his first design — he has left much unsaid that he intended to say, and can only add at this point that if life and health permit, he

may have something more to offer concerning the people among whom he has lived from early childhood.

In the preparation of certain parts of this work, the writer was of necessity greatly indebted to the faithful labors of Lynn's historians, Alonzo Lewis and James R. Newhall. To the Librarian of our Public Library, and the City Clerk, and their assistants, he would also express his indebtedness for many courteous attentions, in placing at his command whatever was valuable for his purpose in the books, documents and public records under their charge. He wishes, likewise, to acknowledge his great obligations to the many friends — too many to call by name — whose kind help, so freely given, has made his labor lighter and more pleasant.

Fully aware of the short-comings of this humble volume, he offers it to his fellow-citizens as a slight contribution to those records which preserve the simple annals of the every-day life of the common people, and keep alive that which they most care to know and most dearly cherish.

D. N. J.

INTRODUCTION.

My purpose in the following pages is to present some reminiscences, and set forth certain facts that will show the changes of the last fifty years. These reminiscences are chiefly within my own recollection, but in part derived from those who have gone farther than I down into the vale of years. It is, perhaps, proper for me to add, by way of preface, that it is doubtful if these papers would have appeared had I not been advised to prepare them for publication by others, who, like myself, had personal knowledge of many of the incidents here recorded, and to whom I am indebted for many facts corroboratory of my own experience. Many of these incidents may be trifling in themselves; but they may nevertheless have a significance in the future as a picture of the lighter shades of life, not the less valuable because they are so often left undrawn; but frequently having a greater interest to those who recognize the likeness than the well-spread canvas whereon the grave historian paints the deeds of kings and the exploits

of conquerors. And more than this, it is not unlikely that this portraiture of local incidents and events, however narrow its application, may shed light upon some obscure question, and aid the future annalist in unraveling a mystery.

The Lynn of 1830 bore very little resemblance to the Lynn of 1879. At the first date it was a thriving town of about 6,000 inhabitants, including Swampscott and Nahant. The people, even then, were generally engaged in the manufacture of ladies' shoes, either as bosses, — as those who employed workmen were called,— makers, or binders. Considerable farming was carried on at this time, mostly by those inheriting land, and several excellent farms then lay within the precincts of the town. There were, besides, a number of small farmers owning a few acres, who cultivated their land as a means in part of gaining a living, and gave the remainder of their time to the honored craft of shoemaking. The people of Swampscott then — as since — were almost exclusively engaged in fishing. This diversified industry gave Lynn some advantages over the surrounding towns, and the increase in her wealth and population was, consequently, more rapid. The great manufacturing cities of the Commonwealth had not yet arisen. Only six cities and towns of the State — Boston, Salem, New Bedford, Nantucket, Lowell and Worcester — exceeded Lynn in population, and these four last by only a

few hundred each. The impulse given to cotton manufacture had but just begun to be felt in Lowell, where, in 1824, a company was organized to carry on this business, which has since reached such magnitude. It did not become a great industry till several years later, when it built up Lowell, Lawrence, New Bedford and Fall River; and it was later still before the great iron interest, that for the last twenty years has advanced with such rapid strides, changed Worcester, Taunton and other smaller places from insignificant towns to large cities, producing millions of dollars' worth of every kind of iron manufacture, from the steam engine to the simplest agricultural implement.

Boston especially, and to some extent Salem, and even Marblehead, had acquired considerable commercial renown among the leading seaports of New England, while Lynn remained a quiet town with its industry divided between farming and shoemaking. But while the commerce of Salem and Marblehead was on the wane, the shoe business of Lynn was steadily gaining, attracting workmen from the surrounding towns; besides this, it added to the industry and wealth of many neighboring places by furnishing employment to their people. Shoes were sent out of town to be made and bound from quite an early period. The Lynn shoemaker was in many respects a fortunately situated man. His labor was light, making an agreeable contrast

to the heavy work of the cobbler and of the maker of men's boots and shoes. He was sheltered from the inclemency of the weather, and his light and generally pleasant shop was an attractive place, not only to those who occupied a "berth" within its narrow limits, but also to the neighboring farmer or fisherman who dropped in on a stormy day or spent the long winter evening in talking about the weather, crops, the "catch" of fish in the bay, on the "Georgies" or on the "Grand Banks," or discussed with the crew the state of business, politics, state, or national, or — more commonly — town affairs, or any other topic bearing a near or remote interest to the gossipers and their hearers. The peculiar nature of his business requiring of the workman little mental concentration, allowed him to take part in discussions, or fix his attention upon any question that might engage his thoughts. His work went on mechanically, as it seemed, without needing any of that nice care which is indispensable in many of the mechanic arts. This circumstance made every workshop a school and an incipient debating club; and from this, doubtless, has arisen that general intelligence, which is said to characterize the sons of Crispin. It has been remarked that more men have risen to eminence from the "seat" of the shoemaker than from the ranks of any other class of mechanics, except that of printers. It is to this cause chiefly, no doubt, that

debating societies and other literary institutions flourished to that degree that made them a marked feature in the social life of the workingmen of Lynn; and it is the apology, if any is needed, for the somewhat extended notice of these organizations that will claim the attention of the reader in the following pages.

Books were comparatively scarce in those days, but a few were often found in the shops, the character of which was determined by the taste of the owner. The Bible was more frequently seen than any other book, as many of the workmen were members of the various religious societies then existing in the town — Congregationalist, (Orthodox,) Methodist, Baptist, Friends, Unitarian, and a few years later, — the Universalist. As a consequence, religious discussions were often heard in those shoemakers' shops. Sometimes three or four workmen of different religious views would work in one shop. Then the debate would take a wide range, and all the essential points of doctrine laid down in the Catechism or creed would be canvassed with a good deal of earnestness, and often with much intelligence. When the discussion waxed warm, one of these defenders of some cherished doctrine might have been seen enforcing his argument with his hammer poised in an imposing manner, or slowly descending upon the shoe he held on his knee. Or gesticulating with some other piece

of "kit" in his outstretched hand he cut the air at various irregular angles making a *striking* demonstration — especially when one came too near — if not a gesture in strict accordance with the rules of oratory. On Monday morning the text would be reported by one of the crew and a synopsis given of the sermon preached the day before. If it was a doctrinal discourse — and there were a good many of that kind in those days — an animated controversy was likely to follow. Perhaps some one of the five points of Calvinism was the grave theme of the preacher. Then a discussion would arise that would run on until the disputants wandered in "endless mazes lost;" as they grappled with questions bridging the chasm between the known and the unknown — "fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute." If there were singers among the crew, — which was often the case, — some of the grand old "Hymns of the Ages" would now and then be sung, to some familiar air,

> "Perhaps 'Dundee's' wild warbling measures rise;
> Or plaintive 'Martyrs,' worthy of the name;
> Or noble 'Elgin' beats the heaven-ward flame,
> The sweetest far of Scotia's holy lays."

Next to the Bible, the book most commonly seen was some small copy of the dictionary. Some of the younger workmen in the shops would have within reach a spelling-book or grammar, or some

other text book used in the public schools, and now and then they would look over its pages, while they took a brief rest from their work.

The daily newspaper was then a few years in the future; but the weekly paper, religious or secular, was often found in these shops; and the best reader among the crew, or perhaps a neighbor who had dropped in, would read the news, which in those days before railroads, steamboats, and electric telegraphs, took a good while to travel from the four quarters of the earth. Comments would be made as the reading went on, and when it was ended a general discussion took place upon the various topics treated — missionary intelligence from the then recently established missions; nullification which was then muttering its threats against the Union; the anti-slavery movement just then launched upon the stormy waves of an excited public opinion by its intrepid leader, Garrison,—these, with other less exciting topics, often made the shop of the shoemaker an arena of debate which stimulated the intelligence and broadened the views of all who came within the reach of its influence.

At this time nearly all the workmen owned the houses they lived in, with considerable land adjoining. The few who hired tenements had generally an ample garden where they raised various vegetables and fruits. Potatoes were the chief crop, and it was not unusual for the little plat of ground

to yield a sufficient quantity to supply the family through the winter. The cultivation of fruit trees had then hardly begun. There were many old apple orchards, but many of the trees bore natural fruit, the art of grafting being then but little practiced. Pears and other fruits were but little cultivated. Almost every family kept a pig which furnished a stock of meat for a large part of the year. One of the newspapers of the day, alluding to this fact, observed that there were probably more hogs raised in Lynn than any other town of its size in the vicinity. Cows were also very generally kept, and droves of them were seen morning and night on their way to, or returning from, the neighboring pastures. Bread and milk made one of the common dishes of the time, especially for children. The beaches near by yielded an unfailing supply of clams, in the season, and the "clam banks" were spoken of, in those days, when the currency was more miscellaneous than the wants of the people required, as banks that never failed or refused to discount.

The contrast between those days and the present cannot be realized except by those who have lived through the transformation. No fifty years, since man inhabited the earth, have witnessed such changes. They have left nothing as it was,— the food, clothes, shelter, the tools with which the poor man labored, and the conditions under which he

performed that labor, have all been changed. The multiplied arts of an age more wonderful in its mechanical inventions than any that preceded it, have lightened his labor and increased its recompense. They have placed at his command comforts unknown to the world in former times, and made common luxuries hitherto enjoyed only by the favored few. Fifty years ago and there was not a piano within the limits of the town, and a musical instrument of any description was a comparatively rare sight. The artistically finished parlor organ, elegant as a piece of household furniture, and the great variety of melodeons now everywhere seen, were then unknown; and twenty years later the notes of a piano falling on the ear would attract the attention of the passer by.

One living through this period has seen the old tinder box, flint and steel give way to the friction match. He has seen the tallow candle and the smoky japanned lamp, that gave just light enough to "make darkness visible," superseded by the Argand burner and the more brilliant flame of the gas light, and now the application of the "electric light," for the common purposes of illumination, heating and other uses, public and domestic, seems about to be realized — a discovery more wonderful, if possible, than any that preceded it, and which promises to bring about greater revolutions than even steam itself. He has seen the coarse, clumsy cow-

hide brogan, from which the school-boy used to drain the snow-water at night, give place to the elegant shoe, and the impervious rubber boot. He has seen coarse, patched and ragged clothing, too scanty, often, to afford protection from the cold of winter, gradually disappear and its place supplied with comfortable, neat-fitting garments, scarcely distinguishable from those worn by the wealthiest class. He has seen the two-room tenement, scantily furnished, expand into the neat and often elegant cottage, supplied with every comfort, adorned with pictures and beautified with various ornaments, the evidences of a cultivated taste — pianos, books, albums, vases, and an endless variety of useful and attractive household treasures. He has seen the small, poorly-printed weekly newspaper, worked off on a hand press, with its meager record of events that took place a week, a month or a year before, supplanted by the mammoth daily quarto, struck off on a "lightning press," printed on both sides at once at the rate of twelve to fifteen thousand impressions an hour. He has seen the crowded, ungraded district school, with a hundred pupils in charge of a single teacher, transformed into graded classes of one-half the number of former times; and in place of the contracted, ill-ventilated, unpainted school-house in which it was kept, he sees the well-furnished apartments of magnificent structures that attract the attention of the passer-by. He has seen the few

hundred volumes of the little town library expand into the Free Public Library, furnished with its thousands of volumes containing the literary treasures of all ages, and constantly augmented with the world's latest productions of mental genius. He has seen this "college of the people" supplementing the instructions of the public schools, visited by thousands from all ranks of society, and exerting an influence upon the general intelligence and culture of the community that it is impossible to estimate. He has seen the illimitable power of steam, in its ten thousand applications to the wants of business and the comfort of mankind, spread all over the civilized world, revolutionizing commerce and every branch of manufactures, and making obsolete old methods of travel, and the slow, clumsy means of transportation. To add to the marvels of this age of invention, the telephone, in its various applications, is seen in our places of business, and oral communication is held between parties far distant from each other. This communication is so perfect that the peculiarities of voice can be distinguished. And every day brings rumors of new wonders, and the end is not yet. Judging from the last half century, what the next fifty years will bring forth, the marvels still in store will outstrip the imagination of the poet.

GENERAL REVIEW.

The making of shoes in Lynn dates back to an early period. History informs us that the first shoemakers of Lynn were Philip Kertland and Edmund Bridges, who came here in 1635, six years after the settlement of the town. A corporation of shoemakers was formed soon after. Mention is made of this in the "Wonder Working Providence," a book published in 1651, by Edward Johnson, of Woburn. In his allusion to Lynn manufactures he says:—"All other trades have fallen into their ranks and places, to their great advantage, especially coopers and shoemakers, who had either of them a *Corporation* granted, inriching themselves very much."

Unfortunately, the records of this Corporation are lost, and so we fail to get any hint of the plan of its organization; but it was doubtless based upon the model of the ancient guilds, and corporations of the Old World. It is supposed that these records were destroyed by the mob in 1765, occasioned by the passage of the Stamp Act.

Not much is known of the growth and condition of the business of Lynn for the next one hundred years; but it doubtless slowly increased with the gradual growth of the country, and there is little question that at that early day Lynn held the first rank in the manufacture of ladies' shoes. But a fresh impulse was given to this industry by the arrival, in 1750, of John Adam Dagyr, a shoemaker from Wales. He was a skilled workman in ladies' shoes, and under his instructions the shoemakers of Lynn soon changed their clumsy methods for the more skillful means and appliances which this ancient art could furnish. Dagyr's rank as a shoemaker may be inferred from an allusion in the Boston Gazette of 1764, quoted by Lewis in his History of Lynn, where he was referred to as "the celebrated shoemaker of Essex."

For the next fifty or sixty years there are but few facts bearing upon the condition and progress which this great branch of our industry made in our midst. But there is no question that Lynn was becoming more and more the head center in the manufacture of ladies' shoes. During the ten years ending 1810 the population increased nearly fifty per cent.— an increase owing, doubtless, in a great degree to the opportunities here offered to the inhabitants of other towns of engaging in a more profitable business than could be found elsewhere.

GENERAL REVIEW.

The making of shoes in Lynn dates back to an early period. History informs us that the first shoemakers of Lynn were Philip Kertland and Edmund Bridges, who came here in 1635, six years after the settlement of the town. A corporation of shoemakers was formed soon after. Mention is made of this in the "Wonder Working Providence," a book published in 1651, by Edward Johnson, of Woburn. In his allusion to Lynn manufactures he says:—"All other trades have fallen into their ranks and places, to their great advantage, especially coopers and shoemakers, who had either of them a *Corporation* granted, inriching themselves very much."

Unfortunately, the records of this Corporation are lost, and so we fail to get any hint of the plan of its organization; but it was doubtless based upon the model of the ancient guilds, and corporations of the Old World. It is supposed that these records were destroyed by the mob in 1765, occasioned by the passage of the Stamp Act.

Not much is known of the growth and condition of the business of Lynn for the next one hundred years; but it doubtless slowly increased with the gradual growth of the country, and there is little question that at that early day Lynn held the first rank in the manufacture of ladies' shoes. But a fresh impulse was given to this industry by the arrival, in 1750, of John Adam Dagyr, a shoemaker from Wales. He was a skilled workman in ladies' shoes, and under his instructions the shoemakers of Lynn soon changed their clumsy methods for the more skillful means and appliances which this ancient art could furnish. Dagyr's rank as a shoemaker may be inferred from an allusion in the Boston Gazette of 1764, quoted by Lewis in his History of Lynn, where he was referred to as "the celebrated shoemaker of Essex."

For the next fifty or sixty years there are but few facts bearing upon the condition and progress which this great branch of our industry made in our midst. But there is no question that Lynn was becoming more and more the head center in the manufacture of ladies' shoes. During the ten years ending 1810 the population increased nearly fifty per cent.— an increase owing, doubtless, in a great degree to the opportunities here offered to the inhabitants of other towns of engaging in a more profitable business than could be found elsewhere.

GENERAL REVIEW.

The making of shoes in Lynn dates back to an early period. History informs us that the first shoemakers of Lynn were Philip Kertland and Edmund Bridges, who came here in 1635, six years after the settlement of the town. A corporation of shoemakers was formed soon after. Mention is made of this in the "Wonder Working Providence," a book published in 1651, by Edward Johnson, of Woburn. In his allusion to Lynn manufactures he says:—"All other trades have fallen into their ranks and places, to their great advantage, especially coopers and shoemakers, who had either of them a *Corporation* granted, inriching themselves very much."

Unfortunately, the records of this Corporation are lost, and so we fail to get any hint of the plan of its organization; but it was doubtless based upon the model of the ancient guilds, and corporations of the Old World. It is supposed that these records were destroyed by the mob in 1765, occasioned by the passage of the Stamp Act.

Not much is known of the growth and condition of the business of Lynn for the next one hundred years; but it doubtless slowly increased with the gradual growth of the country, and there is little question that at that early day Lynn held the first rank in the manufacture of ladies' shoes. But a fresh impulse was given to this industry by the arrival, in 1750, of John Adam Dagyr, a shoemaker from Wales. He was a skilled workman in ladies' shoes, and under his instructions the shoemakers of Lynn soon changed their clumsy methods for the more skillful means and appliances which this ancient art could furnish. Dagyr's rank as a shoemaker may be inferred from an allusion in the Boston Gazette of 1764, quoted by Lewis in his History of Lynn, where he was referred to as "the celebrated shoemaker of Essex."

For the next fifty or sixty years there are but few facts bearing upon the condition and progress which this great branch of our industry made in our midst. But there is no question that Lynn was becoming more and more the head center in the manufacture of ladies' shoes. During the ten years ending 1810 the population increased nearly fifty per cent.— an increase owing, doubtless, in a great degree to the opportunities here offered to the inhabitants of other towns of engaging in a more profitable business than could be found elsewhere.

GENERAL REVIEW.

The making of shoes in Lynn dates back to an early period. History informs us that the first shoemakers of Lynn were Philip Kertland and Edmund Bridges, who came here in 1635, six years after the settlement of the town. A corporation of shoemakers was formed soon after. Mention is made of this in the "Wonder Working Providence," a book published in 1651, by Edward Johnson, of Woburn. In his allusion to Lynn manufactures he says:—"All other trades have fallen into their ranks and places, to their great advantage, especially coopers and shoemakers, who had either of them a *Corporation* granted, inriching themselves very much."

Unfortunately, the records of this Corporation are lost, and so we fail to get any hint of the plan of its organization; but it was doubtless based upon the model of the ancient guilds, and corporations of the Old World. It is supposed that these records were destroyed by the mob in 1765, occasioned by the passage of the Stamp Act.

Not much is known of the growth and condition of the business of Lynn for the next one hundred years; but it doubtless slowly increased with the gradual growth of the country, and there is little question that at that early day Lynn held the first rank in the manufacture of ladies' shoes. But a fresh impulse was given to this industry by the arrival, in 1750, of John Adam Dagyr, a shoemaker from Wales. He was a skilled workman in ladies' shoes, and under his instructions the shoemakers of Lynn soon changed their clumsy methods for the more skillful means and appliances which this ancient art could furnish. Dagyr's rank as a shoemaker may be inferred from an allusion in the Boston Gazette of 1764, quoted by Lewis in his History of Lynn, where he was referred to as "the celebrated shoemaker of Essex."

For the next fifty or sixty years there are but few facts bearing upon the condition and progress which this great branch of our industry made in our midst. But there is no question that Lynn was becoming more and more the head center in the manufacture of ladies' shoes. During the ten years ending 1810 the population increased nearly fifty per cent.— an increase owing, doubtless, in a great degree to the opportunities here offered to the inhabitants of other towns of engaging in a more profitable business than could be found elsewhere.

THE SHOEMAKER'S SHOP.

It was about this time that the little shoemaker's shop, which in former years so attracted the attention of strangers, begun to make its appearance. Before this period the shoemaking of our ancestors was carried on before the kitchen fire; or, to speak more exactly, in the chimney corner. The double occupation of farming and shoemaking engaged the industry of the early settlers in this vicinity, and, as their agricultural labors employed most of their time in the warm-season, their work at the "craft" was performed in cold weather, or on exceptionally stormy days. As a matter of necessary comfort, the "seat" was placed before or near the open fire-place, and "knee-boards" were worn to protect the knees from excessive heat. For the first fifty years, or until the beginning of the present century, these shops were built with an open fire-place in the corner. From this time stoves came gradually into use. The size of these shops varied from the "ten-footer"—as one measuring ten feet in length by ten in breadth was called—to those measuring fourteen feet each way. The average was nearer twelve by twelve.

The manner of conducting the shoe business fifty years ago was very unlike the methods of to-day. Those were the days of "bag-bosses." A dozen, or two dozen pairs of shoes, more or less, were

packed in a bag, and taken to Boston to be traded off for whatever could be got in exchange. Boston was the principal market, though many were sold in the neighboring towns. As there were no steam cars running then, the methods of getting these shoes to market were as various as the circumstances of the manufacturers. Some took the pack on their back and trudged off, the journey to Boston and back being a good day's work. Others took their bundle to the city on horseback. Others went in the stage coach; and still others, who could afford to keep a team, drove over the road.

Shoes were not generally packed in boxes until some time after this. Those that were destined for the South were often packed in barrels and sent to Boston, where they were repacked in large boxes, and forwarded to their destination, generally by water, as this means of transportation was cheaper than by land. Shoe boxes did not come into general use until between 1830 and 1840. The business of making shoe boxes on an extensive scale was first established by James N. Buffum, about the year 1836; but it was done in a small way some time before this date. Mr. Benjamin Mudge and Elijah Downing made shoe boxes as early as 1825.

Up to this time paper shoe boxes were unknown. About the year 1840 Mr. Abner Jones began the manufacture of paper shoe boxes. Very few were

made until 1851, when Mr. George H. Cushman set up the business. This trade increased rapidly, as the practice of double packing fine shoes — first in paper boxes, which were then packed in wooden cases — became general.

THE GREAT REVOLUTION.

It is only within the last thirty years that the great revolutions in the shoe business of Lynn began. The stitching machine was the first great invention. This ingenious piece of mechanism was the work of Elias Howe. Mr. Howe obtained his patent in 1846. The first machine used in Lynn was the "Singer" patent, introduced in 1852, by Mr. John Wooldredge. An expert came from Philadelphia to instruct the first operator, Miss Hannah Harris, daughter of Mr. Lord Harris. The revolution wrought by the stitching machine was speedy and complete.

Soon after this the factory system was gradually introduced. One by one the little shoemakers' shops were abandoned, as the factories of the manufacturers were enlarged and fitted up so that the work, both of the stitchers and makers, might be done under the more immediate supervision of the employers.

(The accompanying illustrations give some idea of the contrast between the little shop of the olden time and the factory of to-day.)

OLD-TIME SHOEMAKER'S SHOP. (EXTERIOR.)

OLD-TIME SHOEMAKER'S SHOP. (INTERIOR.)

In the meantime several minor inventions, all tending to perfect the work of the operative, were introduced. One of these was the use of tin patterns for shaping the soles, in place of the old method of "rounding on" by the last. This simple device gave uniformity to the shape of the shoes — a thing impossible, as experience had shown, under the ancient plan, which left every man to the free exercise of his choice in determining the width and shape of the shoes, and especially of the shanks. It is strange that this simple expedient — for invention it can hardly be called — the advantages of which were so apparent, was not sooner tried. Before this there was no uniformity in the shoes made by different workmen. It was of course necessary to have some general conformity to the shape of the last; that is, the heels were rounded (when the sole was not too short), and narrow-toed shoes could hardly be made on wide-toed lasts; but when it came to the "shank," there was a chance for the display of original genius. A single box of shoes — the product of three or four workmen — would display as many different styles of "shanks." Some workmen ran to very narrow shanks, some to very wide shanks, while some seemed to find the true lines and curves of beauty that fulfilled their ideal of symmetry by observing the golden mean between these two extremes. It required some mechanical genius to make a shoe in those days; and when

this genius was not of a tolerably high order, the question of "matching shanks," when the day's work was "tied up," imposed a degree of responsibility not experienced at the present time; as it was found that the range taken in a single day between the two extremes of wide and narrow shanks was considerable, and sometimes exhibited violent contrasts.

It will be seen that the chief characteristic of the revolution that has taken place is, that everything is reduced to system. The exactness of scientific measurement is substituted for random guesses. Everything is assorted with especial reference to its fitness for the purpose intended. In nothing is this more clearly seen than in the cutting and sorting of soles. Sole leather, as formerly cut by hand, was subject to the most extravagant waste. It was an easy thing for a cutter of sole leather to waste more than the amount of his wages; and in the classification of the different grades — or rather, lack of classification — there was, if possible, a more wasteful expenditure of material. The division of labor had not then been carried far enough to enable the manufacturer to purchase just what he wanted, and nothing else. Now, a dozen different grades, ranging from the lightest and lowest priced soles up to the heaviest and most costly, can be bought in any quantity, and at the shortest notice. As an illustration of the waste incident to the old

methods, it is only neccesary to recall the experience of any of our old "jours." In the season when "welts" (as welted shoes were called) were made, inner soles and light soles were in more than usual demand. As a consequence, the manufacturers frequently ran "short," and were obliged to use soles of a much heavier grade than this kind of shoe required. Soles thick enough for "imitation" were often used as a matter of necessity.

The first invention in this line was the simple "stripper." This was a heavy blade worked by foot power. It cut the leather into strips — across the width of the side — of various widths, corresponding to the length of the sole required. This gave exactness of length.

Next came the "sole cutter," the invention of Richard Richards, a last-maker and ingenious mechanic of Lynn. This machine was patented in 1844. It gave regularity of shape and uniformity in width.

The second great invention, in its labor-saving capabilities, was the McKay machine for stitching the bottoms. (This machine was introduced into Lynn by William Porter, in 1862.) This revolutionized the work of the maker, as the stitching machine has already superseded the needle of the binder. This took the place, in a large degree, of the ancient method of the old-time shoemaker, as, with the shoe held on his knee by the stirrup, and

his awl in his hand, his picture has come down to us from a remote antiquity.

Soon after this, in 1867, the "beating-out machine" was introduced by the inventor, Joseph Bassett Johnson. This invention supplied the place of "hammering," or the "beating out" process, heretofore performed by the hammer of the shoemaker, as he held the shoe on his knee. Meanwhile the factory system developed various minor inventions which, one by one, took the place of old methods, so that at the present time the ancient "craft" of the shoemaker is practiced and preserved only in the few "little shops" that still linger among us, to remind us of a former age.

Meantime attention was turned to the improvement of "upper" patterns. In former years these patterns were made of straw-board, or some less enduring material. Each manufacturer cut his own patterns. As might be supposed, they were not often models of elegance in design, nor were they characterized by mathematical exactness. The first stride taken in this direction was the invention, in 1848, of a "pattern machine," by Geo. W. Parrott, of Lynn. This secured the two chief points — exactness in the proportion between the several sizes, and also the gradual increase in the fullness over the instep and around the ankle, required in the smaller sizes, especially of children's shoes. This second principle had been before applied in turning

SERGE OR KID FOX BUTTON.

SERGE OR KID POLISH.

(Drawn by I. G. Sutherland.)

GENT'S FOX CONGRESS.

LADY'S OR GENT'S SCOTCH TIE

(Drawn by I. G. Sutherland.)

lasts, to secure the same end, but it was first applied to the machine for cutting patterns by Mr. Parrott.

But no single machine, however ingenious, was sufficient to meet the various requirements of the case. The unequal and irregular proportions found in human feet are so marked that no automatic contrivance, even when its movements are subject to the various modifying adjustments which ingenuity has yet been able to invent, can meet all the exceptional conditions so often manifested in this part of man's anatomy. Each case, or each class of cases, must be treated by itself, and various minor inventions and more elaborately constructed tools, aided to bring about the desired end.

Several years later, in 1871, Israel G. Sutherland began the business of pattern cutting. Mr. Sutherland was an excellent mechanic, and saw what was required to perfect the improvements already made. He carefully studied the subject, and availed himself of all the mechanical contrivances that would aid him in his work, which was to produce a pattern that should serve as a model for a neatly fitting boot or shoe. Other skillful and tasteful manufacturers directed their attention to the same end, all tending to perfect this the most difficult part of the manufacturer's art, until those models of elegance in the styles of boots and shoes which characterize the products of our manufacturers were, step by step, reached.

It is no idle boast to say, that, in the manufacture of ladies' shoes, Lynn holds the first rank in this country, if not in the world. There is nothing surprising in this. As we have seen, the business was established and domesticated here from the first settlement of New England. Capital was attracted to it, and the inventive genius of our people, and the skill of our mechanics, developed its resources and improved the quality of its products. The enterprise and intelligence of our merchants availed themselves of every invention and appliance designed to improve the product or to cheapen its cost; and to-day, as the result of long years of patient toil, of ingenious contrivance, and of business enterprise, the manufacturers of Lynn are able to offer to the world of buyers the advantages of the highest excellence that has been reached in this department of human industry.

SHOEMAKING IN THE OLDEN TIME.

THE SHOEMAKER'S SHOP.

The shoemaker's shop, to which allusion has been made, and of which we have a few specimens still extant among us, cannot boast of a great antiquity. It came into use about the middle of the last century or a little earlier. The size of these shops varied from the "ten-footer" — as one measuring ten feet in length by ten feet in width was called — to those measuring fourteen feet each way. These last were regarded as of almost palatial dimensions. The average was nearer twelve by twelve. They were generally finished six and a half feet clear in height, a few being below that figure and a few above it, so that a tall man with a tall hat on ran no small risk of damaging his head gear on entering the door, as the stove-pipe hat was then generally worn. The garret was left unfinished, and was the common receptacle of all kinds of litter and of everything not wanted for use, or wanted only occasionally. This was reached

by a perpendicular ladder, which was more easy of descent than of ascent. The contents of some of these garrets were a mitigated museum. Old lasts — some of them of styles dating back a quarter or a half century — candle rigging, old umbrellas, broken chairs, old boots, occasionally an old clock, old hats, the bottoms of two or three old boots — the tops cut off very near the sole and used as a receptacle for wax — besides a miscellaneous assortment of all sorts of trumpery, the accumulation oftentimes of two or three generations, made up in part the stock of odds and ends found in these "cock-lofts," whose owners believed that everything comes in use once in every seven years.

The number working in one of these shops ranged from four to eight, according to the size of the edifice and other circumstances, and taken collectively was called the shop's crew. The space occupied by each "jour" was called his "berth." This was the space covered by his "seat" or "bench" — "seat" was the more common name in Lynn — and a foot or two, more or less, in front and at the left. There must, of course, be room to swing the arms in sewing. When each workman had space to "swing out," the most essential condition was complied with. Sometimes grave disputes would arise respecting the limits of some of these berths, which were doubtless settled oftentimes by diplomacy, as subtile and as significant

within its narrow range as that characterizing the settlement of the boundaries of empires.

For the first half century, or thereabouts, shops were built with fireplaces to secure the needed warmth in cold weather, as heating by stoves was an invention of a later period. When the weather was excessively cold it became a question whether it would pay to heat up the shop; or, in other words, whether they could earn the cost of fuel. If not, the crew went gunning. The test was said to be made by sprinkling water on a lapstone, and applying it to some tender part of the body. If the experiment was not too disastrous, a fire was built and work was attempted.

It is impossible to tell when the first stove was used in heating one of these shops, but it is probable that they were introduced gradually for a short period before the close of the last century. As new shops were built, the little fireplace in the corner was dispensed with and the newly-invented stove took its place.

What kind of a stove was first used is a matter of some doubt. Something like a huge brick box projecting from the chimney near the floor was among the early contrivances to secure a greater degree of heat than could be obtained from the open fireplaces, and was called a "Dutch stove." This, however, is not the invention that usually goes by that name.

There seems to be some evidence that the first stove used was like that which came into more general use some time later. The sides, ends, top and bottom of this stove were cast separately and held together with rods.

One of the first stoves used was cylindrical, or drum-shaped, and hence called a "drum-stove." The box-stove was soon after introduced. This stove was cast entire, except the bottom, which probably explains the circumstance that one was rarely or never seen that was not cracked. This crack was generally stopped up with mortar.

Wood was used for fuel, eked out by leather scraps. Upon the introduction of coal in 1833 the small cylindrical-shaped coal stove, or salamander as it was called, gradually took the place, to a considerable extent, of the box-stove, both on account of the smaller cost of coal as fuel, and of the greater steadiness of the fire, which not only required much less care but which gave a less spasmodic heat. The arrangements for ventilation were neither scientific nor complicated. On the contrary, they were of the most primitive character. When a full crew were at work, and the windows and door had been closed for some time, the miscellaneous odors arising from tobacco smoke, burning leather, shoemaker's wax, and deoxygenated air, made a compound which no chemist ever undertook to imitate, and which did not remind one of the Spice Islands.

When this odor was unendurable a window or door would be opened, to the great risk of any rheumatic victim who might be seated near. In cold weather it was customary for the crew to take turns in building the fire. This was sometimes a weekly and sometimes a daily arrangement. The exception to this was when a boy was one of the crew. In such cases the boy was expected to build the fire. This, however, was often a mere theory. A knowing boy always fell back on his inalienable rights. When the theory was first announced to such a boy he would proceed to examine the grounds on which the claim rested; and a discussion of first principles followed, unless the debate was cut short, by reminding him that he was a boy, and it was expected that he would perform the duty. "Not at present," would be the calm reply, and he would usually carry his point by the mere momentum of genius.

These were the days before friction matches were introduced or coal used in this part of the country. As it was not practicable to keep a fire over night in the stoves used, as is now done in coal stoves for weeks together—and as was then commonly done in the old-fashioned fireplaces where "fire was raked up o' nights"—a fire had to be built each morning; and flint, steel and tinder-box were resorted to, or it was necessary to bring a "brand's end" or a shovel of live coals from a neighboring house. A man didn't knock the skin off of his

knuckles every time he tried to strike fire—a boy was more likely to—and the tinder was likely to catch when it was not too damp. One can imagine the situation of a man sitting over a tinder-box when the thermometer—if there had been one within three or four miles—would have indicated five or ten below zero, and trying to strike off a few sparks and make them go in the right direction. The interest of the picture is heightened if we imagine that he had poor mittens on his hands as he walked a mile or more—as was sometimes the case—from his house to the shop; and the interest is heightened still more if we suppose he didn't have any mittens at all. In this case his fingers were a thermometer showing a lower figure than the mercury ever reached. After a while, even under the most discouraging circumstances, the fire was built and the shop heated—or "het up" as it was usually expressed—sufficiently to "work the wax." This was the grand test. If the wax did not "fly" from the thread on a cold day in the operation of sewing, the temperature was thought to be about right, supposing, of course, that the wax was tempered properly. In the meantime there were ranged around the stove paste-horns of frozen paste, blacking-bottles, gum-bottles, and all other bottles containing any liquid that froze during the night. In severe weather it generally took pretty much the whole forenoon to "thaw out the corners." It was

amusing to see a boy make a thread before the shop was fully warmed. He would hold the wax to the fire; then he would breathe on it; then he would attempt to draw his thread through it; then the wax would break into a dozen pieces and part of it would fly in his face, part stick to his apron, and the rest get all over his hand and between his fingers. He would then present a picture of helplessness and despondency such as would rarely darken his pathway in after life. Then he would try to get the wax off of his hands. Then one of the crew would make an encouraging remark and tell him that if he couldn't get rid of the wax any other way he might cut his hand off.

The shop was often infested with mice; and original measures were sometimes resorted to by the crew to protect the various articles subject to the depredations of the vermin. The paste-horn would be rolled up in a leather apron and stowed away in a drawer of the "seat." Some would suspend the horn by a string from the ceiling. Then the lap-stone would be put over the grease-box, and everything eatable would be guarded against the ravages of this puny though by no means insignificant nuisance. The simple mouse-trap was not then invented; and various contrivances called traps were constructed—mostly by boys—designed to bring some unwary mouse to an untimely end. As it was generally harder to get into one of these

traps than it was to keep outside, the mice held their midnight revels while the young inventor lay dreaming that he had carved for himself a name—with a shoe knife—before whose brightness the fame of Arkwright was to fade in dim eclipse.

A boy while learning his trade was called a "seamster;" that is, he sewed the shoes for his master, or employer, or to use one of the technicalities of the "craft," he "worked on the seam." Sometimes the genius of one of these boys would outrun all limits. One of this kind, who may be called Alphonzo, worked on the seam for a stipulated sum. He seemed to regard his work as an incidental circumstance. When he left the shop at night he might be expected back the next morning: but there were no special grounds for the expectation. He might drop in the next morning, or the next week. He left one Saturday night and did not make his appearance again until the following Thursday morning. On entering the shop he proceeded to take off his jacket as though there had been no hiatus in his labor. His master watched him with an amused countenance to see whether he would recognize the lapse of time. At length he said, "Where have you been, Alphonzo?" Alphonzo turned his head in an instant, as if struck with the preposterousness of the inquiry, and exclaimed, "Me? I? O, I've been down to Nahant." The case was closed.

THE SHOEMAKER'S KIT.

It may be interesting at some future time to know what constituted the "kit" of the shoemaker of the olden time. The following tools and appliances were regarded as essential :—A lap-stone, hammer, stirrup, whet-board, pincers, nippers,—sometimes—shoulder-stick, (one or more), longstick, pettibois, toe-stick, fender, bead, scraper, knives of different descriptions, such as skiver, paring-off knife, heel-knife, etc., awl, bristles, tacks, wax, a piece of sponge, paste-horn, bottles for blacking, gum—and acid in later times—chalk, dogfish skin (till within the last fifty years when sandpaper took its place), stitch-rag, grease, channel-opener—usually called an open-channel—and apron. As might be supposed some workmen required a more elaborate outfit in the way of tools than others. Some would be satisfied with two knives, while others thought it needful to have half a dozen. The ambition of some would be satisfied with one shoulder-stick, while others had quite an assortment. The lap-stone, which is so often considered the emblem of the shoemaker's craft, was frequently a possession having a local interest and value that gave to its possessor the reputation of unknown wealth. It may have been brought by a near relative from the coast of Java, or from some of the beaches washed by the Pacific Ocean. It was so perfect in shape,

so smooth upon its face, and so completely adapted to its purpose, that it was the envy of the whole neighborhood. Nobody had any clear idea of the wealth of the man that owned such a lap-stone. It was never computed, but remained in a shroud of mist until the owner passed beyond the reach of prices current, and the executor, in administering upon the estate, brought the incomputed treasure within the range of measurable values.

Other pieces of kit would sometimes be invested with an historic value unknown if indeed computable. One would possess a "shoulder-stick" made from a club with which a sailor uncle had knocked down a Sandwich Islander when Commodore Porter visited the Pacific Islands in the war of 1812; or, possibly, some other owned one that was made from a tomahawk brandished by some red Indian in the colonial wars. These men died in the possession of unestimated wealth.

In almost every one of these shops there was one whose mechanical genius outrun that of all the rest. He could "temper wax," "cut shoulders," sharpen scrapers and cut hair. The making of wax was an important circumstance in the olden time. To temper it just right so that it would not be too brittle and "fly" from the thread, or too soft and stick to the fingers, was an art within the reach of but few, or if within reach, was attained only by those who aspired to scale the heights of fame, and

who, "while their companions slept, were toiling upward in the night." Such a one eyed his skillet of melted rosin as the alchemist of old viewed his crucible wherein he was to transmute the baser metals into gold. When the rosin was thoroughly melted, oil or grease was added until the right consistency was supposed to be nearly reached, the compound being thoroughly stirred in the meantime. Then the one having the matter in charge would first dip his finger in cold water and then into the melted mass, and taking the portion that adhered to his finger, would test its temper by pulling it, biting it, and rolling it in his hands. If found to be too hard, more oil or grease would be added, but very cautiously, as the critical moment was being reached. Then the test would be again applied. When the right result was supposed to be nearly gained, a piece of wax would be passed around among the crew for a confirmatory verdict. If the judgment of the master of ceremonies was indorsed, the experiment ended, and the mixture was poured into a vessel of cold water—usually the "shop-tub"—to cool sufficiently to be "worked." This was done by "pulling," which bleached it as candy is whitened by the same process. The opinion was held by some that the "working" of the wax injured its quality. The wax was usually kept in the bottom of an old boot or shoe, the top of which had been cut off near the sole. In some

cases it was allowed to remain at the bottom of the shop-tub. The shop-tub was an indispensable article in every shop. In early times, before the manufactures of wooden ware had become plenty and cheap, some rudely-constructed wooden vessel of home manufacture served the purpose. Afterwards a paint-keg or a firkin with the top sawed off, and still later a second-hand water-pail, was made to do service.

The theory was that the water of the shop-tub was to be changed every day. As this water was used for *wetting* the "stock"—which meant all the sole leather put into the shoe—and also often used for washing hands, it was somewhat necessary that it should be changed occasionally. The shifting of the "tub" often devolved upon the boy of the shop, except when he was too bright. In that case he "shirked" with the rest of the crew. This was the sort of boy that looked out of the attic window of the dormitory where he slept, to see if the smoke was gracefully curling from the shop's chimney, in the gray of the morning as he stretched himself for a supplementary snooze.

The man who had an "eye" for cutting "shoulders" occupied a niche of distinction among his fellow-craftsmen. If it was not necessary that he should have a "microscopic eye"—which Mr. Pope tells us man does not need because he "is not a fly,"—it was needful that he should have a "geometric eye" when

called upon to adjust the "shoulder" to "convex" and "concave" edges. To do this successfully required little less than a stroke of genius. Two cents was the usual price for cutting a "shoulder," and an experienced cutter would gather in each week quite a pile of the large-size coppers of those days, whose purchasing power of many things was twice as great as at present.

Next to the man who could "make wax" and "cut shoulders," was he who could sharpen "scrapers." It was a very difficult thing to get a good blade for a scraper. It required a peculiar *toughness* and "temper," otherwise it would "break" in "turning," and show an edge full of fine "gaps," instead of that smoothness which was indispensable in scraping the bottoms of fine shoes. When a man was fortunate enough to own one of these well-tempered blades it was not considered a marketable commodity. The rash and envious might skirmish around the outposts of commercial values, and end their fruitless attempt by naming some sum before unheard-of in the purchase of any such article; but they were pooh-poohed aside with lofty disdain that shut the gates of traffic and locked them on both sides. Sometimes a venturesome youth would suggest to such a man, the owner of such a scraper, that he lend it to him, the aforesaid youth, "just to try." The inexpressible glance of the owner was such as the conqueror of the world

might be supposed to have given had a small-headed Greek corporal proposed to borrow the helmet of Alexander. A boy never tried such an experiment but once.

There were several things connected with the shoemaker's art, besides those already mentioned, requiring the skill of the expert and the trained hand of the practiced workman. The making of "fenders" was an important job. These were at first made of discarded horn combs—then much more worn than at present—and went by the name of "stitch-bones." They were made by soaking the combs in hot water until they could be bent into any shape required and easily cut. They were then cut into strips about an inch wide, and four or five inches long, and scraped thin at one end so that it could be inserted between the upper and the sole as a protection against the point of the knife in paring off the edge. Sometimes a hole was discovered in one of these "fenders," but not until one or more pairs of shoes had been cut, and possibly spoiled, thus materially reducing the wages of the week. These fenders were afterwards made of lead and pewter, or block tin, (later still fenders were made of copper,) melted together in such proportions that they would not be too hard and brittle on the one hand, nor too soft and easily cut on the other; these were generally called "stitch-leads." They were usually run in a "mould" cut in

a piece of pine board, and a boy's first attempt at this experiment filled him with a responsibility as great, perhaps, as that felt by Brunnel when he constructed his model for the Thames tunnel.

The man who could cut hair had more opportunities to display his talent than were profitable; as a recognition of this talent was considered an equivalent compensation for the service rendered; and as most of this work was done on Sunday, the wielder of the shears did not consider himself "out" much. It might also be mentioned as bearing incidentally on this point, that there were some in those days, as now, that did not attend church on rainy Sunday forenoons. The hair-cutting of that time was hardly a decorative art.

As already hinted, some were much better provided with "kit" than others. A man with three or four boys at work was often obliged to economize in this particular, and certain tools were passed round from one to the other as each had occasion to use them. Accordingly one would hear—"shoulder-stick, Joe," "long-stick, Jim," "paste-horn, Jed," which had a marked effect in breaking up the monotony, if there ever was any monotony in a shoemaker's shop. At such times it was unsafe to cross the shop, as the danger from flying "kit" varied according to the size and weight of the tool that happened to be in the air at a given time.

The apron of the old-time shoemaker was made

of leather—sometimes of calf-skin, but generally of sheep-skin. The old settlers in Lynn who came from Marblehead — and there were many such here—called these aprons "barvels" (pronounced "borvul.") Most of these workmen were fishermen in early life who made their summer trip to the "Grand Banks," or up the "Straits," and employed their winters in working at the "craft." The "barvel" was a short apron worn to protect the knees from the splashing of water in washing out the fish preparatory to *curing* them or drying them upon the "flakes." As might be supposed, there were a good many sea phrases, or "salt notes," as they were called, used in the shops. In the morning one would hear, "Come, Jake, hoist the sails," which was simply a call to roll up the curtains. When it was time to "quit work" in the evening some one would say, "I guess it 's about time to 'douse the glim,'" which meant in more classic English to put out the lights. This phrase is used by Walter Scott; Webster marks it as slang. "Glim" is provincial German for *light* or *spark*. "Douse," Webster says, is from "dout," an old word signifying to extinguish. These "salt notes" were adapted to all occasions. If a boy got upon his "tantrums," and displayed his enthusiasm in too marked a manner, he would be suddenly checked with the authoritative cry, "Avast there; avast!" If debate ran high upon some ex-

citing topic, some veteran would quietly remark, "Squally, squally to-day. Come, better *luff* and bear away."

The long winter evenings were considered equal to half a day. Work was often continued as late as ten o'clock, and not unfrequently the glimmering light would be seen in the dim distance at a much later hour. The light was obtained in early times from tallow candles, then made in almost every household. In later times, as whale oil became cheaper, lamps were used to some extent. Snuffers were indispensable to keep the wicks "snuffed," and when the lights were in good trim, all that were burning in one of these shops would give nearly as much light as one good kerosene lamp. When the candles needed "snuffing" a man with good eyesight could see all the way across the shop. How work, requiring the nicety of the shoemaker's art, could be carried on in those days of candles and dim-burning oil lamps, is a mystery to those living at the present time.

One boy in a shop made a good deal of amusement; three or four made an entertainment. Sometimes one of these boys would be unusually precocious. He was ready for any emergency. He was full of information, and had a word of comment or suggestion on every occurence likely to take place. He generally gained the title of "old man." When some important matter was under

discussion, some one of the crew would remark. "What does the 'old man' say about it?" When this advanced youth had made some exceptionally wise observation, some one would improvise a song, beginning, "old age came on" — or something of similar import — the rest of the crew joining to swell the chorus. This was the sort of boy of whom it was said that "his father boarded with him." He never went after a left-handed whetstone but once. One of these boys had occasion to do an errand at the old "Union store" — an establishment of which more will be said hereafter. He was accompanied by a younger brother. Amos A., who was often present at the store, and who had a quiet vein of humor running through him, watched their movements with a good deal of interest. After making the several purchases for which they were sent, they concluded to regale themselves with oranges. The supply not proving quite sufficient, "they held a consultation," as A. relates the story, "whether it was best to have a second slap at 'em." This was decided upon, and the older concluded the arrangement by telling the man in the store to charge the goods to his father. A. looked at the boy with gravity imprinted upon every lineament of his countenance and inquired, "*Have you a father living?*" The boy saw through it in an instant, and showed himself equal to the emergency, "Yes," said he, "*but he's a pretty old*

man." The bystanders roared with laughter, and A. gave in beat.

The vocabulary of the shoemaker was Shaksperean in two particulars — it was expressive and comprehensive. Besides being enriched with "salt notes," already mentioned, it was supplemented with foreign words and phrases, brought home by those who had been in foreign lands; for many of these had tempted the "briny" in their early days. Many had taken one trip to the "Banks," or up the "Straits," or possibly made a voyage to a distant foreign port — to Bilboa, and, perhaps, even to the East Indies. With many of these their first voyage was their last, in which case they were said to have "killed the sailor." Most of these youths, on their return, were going *right away* on a second trip. One of the reasons often given was, they wanted to get a chance to "lick" the second mate. But it was noticed that there was usually a good deal of delay about the second voyage. It was found to be more difficult to get a "good chance," and so the enthusiasm gradually died away and they settled down to work at the "old craft." If one of these was quite young, he would appear in the streets for a few days after his return dressed in "salt rig"—a jaunty cap on one side of his head, and a pair of pants *very tight* just below the waist and very large at the lower part of the legs. One of these, dressed in such a "rig" that made it really perilous for him to

stoop, was heard to remark that there was one trouble with his pants — they were n't *quite* tight enough across the hips, and were too small in the legs. For many weeks such a youth would enchant his more juvenile companions with tales of peril by sea and land, with hair-breadth escapes from starvation and shipwreck, of strange sights in the heavens above and in the sea beneath. Perhaps he had sailed in an old "*hide-drogher*" to California for hides, and had been lowered down the sides of the precipice that almost jutted into the sea to dislodge a few hides that had caught in the crevices of the rocks as they were flung from the top to be picked up by the crew on the beach below — as Mr. Dana in his "Two Years Before the Mast" tells us was his experience. Or, perhaps, he had "shipped" in a whaler, and sailed in all seas and landed at all the ports wherever traffic directed them, or stress of weather drove them. Then he would have pitiful tales to tell of harsh treatment on shipboard; of the danger in capturing whales; of what a brave harpooner they had on board, who was n't afraid of anything that ran on the land or swam in the sea. Then he would wind up with a thrilling recital of an encounter with a wounded whale, which, with one sweep of his tail, sent the boat into the air with all its crew, who would have been drowned if they had not been picked up.

These "salt yarns" and Robinson Crusoe ad-

ventures were generally told in the evening as the boys sat on some convenient doorstep, or on a grassy bank under a fence; and the imagination of many a boy was doubtless fired by the recital of these thrilling tales, until he burned to witness for himself the wonders he had heard related. And so it is not surprising that the "sea fever" raged occasionally. When the disease got fairly hold of a boy, there was no cure but a sea voyage. Dark hints were at first thrown out, and then muttered threatenings to "run off" were heard. If paternal warnings and maternal pleadings were alike unavailing to check the fever, a reluctant consent was sometimes given by the parents, and the boy was put on board some vessel for a trip supposed to be most in accordance with his wishes; but with how many misgivings and crushing fears some who read these pages can tell. It is not to be supposed that the captain was always charged to keep the boy from getting wet, and to see that his sleep was not disturbed o' nights. When consent was not given, the boy who had the fever "bad" would lay his plans to run away. He would slowly collect a stock of doughnuts, and putting his scanty wardrobe in a bandanna handkerchief, and softly creeping down stairs in the night, would be several miles from home before breakfast the next morning. As this was before railroads, considerable walking had to be done. Search would be made

in Salem, Marblehead, Boston, perhaps New Bedford; but oftentimes, before the exploring party returned, the boy came back with a smaller bundle. The bandanna handkerchief was the same, the wardrobe was the same, but the doughnuts had been transferred. But though the number that timed it to get home while the doughnuts lasted made quite a per cent. of those who wandered off under the influence of the "salt fever," there were many who eluded the vigilance of their pursuers and found their first opportunity in Fayal, or some more distant port, to send to the old folks at home an account of their sights and sufferings since leaving the paternal roof. As these letters were not for the public eye, they often contained an intimation that a sea voyage in a whaler or a hide-drogher was not exactly a pleasure trip. When some of these boys returned from their first voyage they knew less of their native town than Ulysses of his native land after his ten years' wanderings. One of these, just returned from a three years' trip, had utterly lost all recollection of early scenes and former associates. The conveyance landed him within twenty rods of his father's house. Taking a small silver piece from his pocket, he handed it to the first boy he met, with the remark, "Here, boy. take me to the old man's house."

The sea experience of many of these shoemakers gave a "salt" aspect to some of these shops, espec-

ially in the eastern portion of the town, that was noticeable at a glance. They would accost each other as "shipmates," and in wet weather would wear their tarpaulins. They would go to the door and take an "observation," and in threatening weather would predict that it would "blow great guns." They would read the signs in a "mackerel-back sky," and give warnings of the changes likely to follow the appearance of a "sun-dog" or a "low dawn."

BLACK-STRAP.

Webster defines "black-strap" as a beverage made of some kind of spirituous liquor and molasses. Bartlett says that this name was given by English sailors to common Mediterranean wines. In Lynn —and probably in New England generally— black-strap was made of New England rum and molasses, modified to suit the taste of those most interested in compounding it. It must be borne in mind that these were the days when temperance organizations were hardly known; before the controversy between "moral suasionists" and "legal suasionists" had begun; before the fifteen gallon law was enacted; when the history and literature of the "striped pig" were unwritten; and when the Washingtonian movement, so wide-spread in its influence, was several years in the future. All classes used spirituous liquor as taste or inclination

suggested; and as the shoemaker was included in that comprehensive category, he drank with the rest. There were, of course, some individual exceptions to this rule; and in some neighborhoods the custom of keeping a supply of black-strap, or other liquor, in the shoemakers' shops was not so common as in other localities. Some, doubtless, thinking this custom pernicious in its influence on the boys, kept their supply of stimulants at home; and a very few, even at that early day, abstained from the use of liquor entirely.

Black-strap might be regarded as a steady drink, though other methods of mixing "New England" were often employed. Some preferred their rum sweetened with sugar — in which case it was called "grog" or "a horn" — especially by those who had had sea experience. Others had theirs dashed with hot water. This was called "toddy" — in later years abbreviated into "tod." This was a favorite drink on cold winter evenings, from which circumstance it probably took the name of "night-cap."

The authorities tell us that "grog" originally meant rum diluted with water, and took its name from the following circumstance:— It seems that Admiral Vernon, of the English navy, was the first who gave an allowance of rum to British sailors. Vernon wore a "grogam" cloak in rough weather, and "Old Grog," at first applied to him as

a nickname by his men, was afterwards applied to the liquor which the Admiral's generosity had supplied.

The shoemaker's vocabulary of terms applied to drinking and drunkenness was quite extensive, and some of them were peculiar to the locality and the craft. If a man was very drunk, he was "blind as a bat," or "well corned," or "well stove in," or "slewed," or "cocked," or "well smashed." In later times such were said to "carry a heavy turkey," or a "brick in their hat." As showing how history repeats itself, even in what seems to be the peculiarities of an age or a class, it is only necessary to read the records which have preserved the expressions and epithets that characterize the vice of drunkenness. Heywood, an English author, writing in 1635, gives the following phrases then in use for being drunk :— "He is foxt, he is flawed, he is flustered, he has swallowed a tavern-token, he has whipt the cat, he is bit by a barn-weasel, he is somewhat whittled."

Various expedients were resorted to, to keep up the supply of black-strap. The one who made the most or the fewest shoes, the best or the poorest, paid the "scot." Bets were made on all occasions admitting the element of chance, or on which hung a possible future contingency. Small games of chance, the stakes of which were black-strap, were frequently made. A common game was played

with a "shoulder-stick." This was called "trolling the tog." These "sticks" were marked on the several sides, beginning with one, and going up to four, making ten in all. Each player was allowed three twirls, or "trolls," of the "stick" as his turn came, an arrangement that made twelve the highest number attainable at a single trial, and whoever showed the lowest figures, paid the bet. When a young man attained his majority, on birthdays, on wedding days, and many other days, the supply was expected to be ample. At "house-raising" and "pig-killing" occasions, nothing short of a large quantity was sufficient to meet the demand. In those days it took something less than a hundred men to "raise" a large building. All the carpenters from far and near, and all the men in the neighborhood were generally summoned to the herculean task. A whole side of a building was "raised" at a time, and the degree of responsibility felt by the "boss" carpenter was hardly less than that experienced by the master-builder at the launching of a ship. When the critical point was passed, a general feeling of relief and a good "swig" of black-strap came pretty close together.

In warm weather a sail or ride to the "Pines," or Nahant, or Phillips' Point, was frequently the programme for the day. The fifth of July was commonly selected for this purpose. This was considered a "tapering off" to the more formal and

ostentatious celebration of the "glorious Fourth." A good supply of potatoes, crackers, salt pork, pots, pans and kettles, besides minor articles necessary for the indispensable "chowder" and "nipper-fry," were got on board the boat or wagon, at the end of which extended the "nipper-poles," clearly indicating the character of the trip. One or more *jugs* were put on board, the contents of which no one seemed to know. They were too large for vinegar. One contained black-strap, which was usually prepared by an expert. Three things were requisite — good rum, good molasses, and just enough of each. Water was put in as a less important element, and the rule concerning its use, as in making lemonade, was purely negative — *not too much*.

These excursions were conducted in the most democratic manner. The most perfect equality prevailed. Nobody was allowed to "put on airs," or "show off." If Nahant was the point of destination, and the conveyance was by wagon, a short ride across the incomparable beaches brought the party to "Bass Point" or "North Spring," the two chief objective points for a Nahant "fish mess." The harbor-side road was then unknown. Once there, they were monarchs of all they surveyed. They could roam unchecked from "Bass Point" to the most easterly limit, and from "North Spring" to "Swallows' Cave," with but few obstructions.

except here and there an old wall, the ancient boundary that marked the lands then owned by the few proprietors of that noted peninsula. Only here and there a cottage was seen; and in place of those sloping lawns and magnificent gardens that now adorn that unrivaled spot, scanty pastures and ragged ledges stretched from shore to shore. The transforming hand of man has since added the beauty of art to nature's sublimest work, and strangers from distant lands now come to look upon this "jewel by the sea."

But not much time could be spent in strolling around, as there was considerable work to be done. There was a division of labor, each doing what taste or talent suggested. Some went to catch fish, some to dig clams, and some to gather wood to make the needed fire; while he who had charge of the cooking began the necessary arrangements for the first meal. The man who was invested with this responsibility was supposed to know how to make a chowder. He was generally assisted by one or two boys, who were not utterly indifferent to the issue of that day's events — especially to those culminating in dinner. Prof. Blot might have told these men something about cooking, but they would have something to say in reply. They would have asked him if he knew how to fry a "watery halibut" without breaking; if he could

tell a "*loga cod*" if he saw one; and whether he would have fried or broiled a "bloater" mackerel.

As already remarked, fastidious tastes were not much indulged in. Not many ate exclusively with their forks, and principally for the reason that there were no forks there; and there were not many waiters standing around. The dinner was one — as Daniel Webster said of a "scrod" — "fit for a king." During its progress jokes were perpetrated and stories told, some of them good enough for *Harper's Drawer*. After it was disposed of, there was leisure for any diversion that might be suggested, such as quoits, wrestling, etc. By the merest accident — apparently — some one would produce a pack of cards, and a quiet game was played, broken only by an occasional explosive "guffaw," that followed the firing off of a joke. Often one or more fine singers were among the party, and songs, patriotic, sentimental or festive, enlivened the hours and varied the entertainment. But no day was so crowded either with incidents or accidents that the black-strap was forgotten. Its mellowing influence was everywhere seen as night approached, and any one who had a genial streak in his nature, or a note of music in his soul, now gave full utterance to the impulse struggling within him.

The ride home was the culmination of the day's experiences. The height of mellowness was

reached, and each man's traits — if he had any — shone forth in full blaze. This high state of mental exaltation generally found utterance in song. This performance could not be called a *concert* without the grossest violation of the etymology of that word. The only condition that was fulfilled was, they all sung at the same time. Songs of the most miscellaneous and diverse character, each sung to a different tune, and pitched to a different key, made an entertainment which, if not strictly musical, had variety, expression and volume. Perhaps some one would start a fugue tune, and all would attempt to join; but the parts would follow at irregular intervals until they telescoped into each other, leaving a chasm which some one having the reputation of being "great on a slur" — musically speaking — would attempt to bridge over by prolonging his part until the dilatory forces should fetch up. This indescribable performance usually ended in a climax of explosive laughter half-way between a "guffaw" and a musical howl. Besides this general entertainment there were sundry side plays. Perhaps some one, overcome with the exertions of the day — and something else — would be in that "balmy" state that lifted him high above the cares and sorrows of his earthly lot. His perfect contentment would now crop out in a sentimental ditty or "pennyroyal" refrain, the burden of which was that he was at peace with all the world.

NEW ENGLAND RUM.

It is hardly necessary to say that the commodity known as New England rum was a favorite liquor in this section from an early period in our history. Besides the fame it had acquired upon its own merits, it had a high renown as the basis of numerous popular beverages. The manufacture and sale of New England rum reached a magnitude during the fifty years following the Revolution that rose above almost every other manufacturing industry of the land. Nearly all the rum distilled in the country was made in New England; hence its name; and Massachusetts distilled more than all the rest of the New England states. In 1783 she had sixty distilleries in full blast. In 1821 Salem had eight distilleries. In 1831 she had six.

In Newport, in the last century, there were thirty places where new rum was manufactured. In Medford large quantities were made even before the Revolution; but "old Medford" did not acquire that special renown in Lynn, which it had had for many years elsewhere, until a period later than that to which these papers relate. Medford rum gained its high fame — so history tells us — from the fact that a spring of water of great excellence was found near where the first distillery stood. Perhaps this was the reason why some, when they took it, were

not inclined to dilute it with water of an inferior quality.

Salem was noted for the quantity and quality of its "New England," and her manufactures of this staple date back to early times. Fifty years ago, and even less, Salem rum stood at the top. Boston rum stood high, but the Salem article outranked it. Accordingly Salem rum was a frequent quotation. The sight of boys going along the streets with tin pails and jugs was not a rare one; and these were not all milk pails and vinegar jugs. The mistake of such a supposition *might* have happened some years later when the following incident took place; but it would not have occurred many years earlier. An original character, well known in this vicinity as a joker and a judge of "New England," was seen bending beneath the weight of a three-gallon jug that was evidently filled with something. "*I suppose*," said he, "*that some folks will think this is vinegar: but it ain't.*" As the boys with their jugs and pails entered the stores where Salem rum was sold, there was no particular bashfulness or reserve on their part, or any winking or special wariness on the part of the vender. If the boy wanted Salem rum, he said so. He didn't call Holland gin "Scheidam schnapps," or new rum "orange balm" or "plum juice."

Large quantities of anise seed and snake-root cordials were drank in the olden time. Fifty years

ago these cordials were peddled round the streets, as milk is now peddled, and were besides found in almost all the stores where the common necessaries of life were sold. These were used by persons in delicate health, whose constitutions could not bear the stronger national beverage. Cases were known of the use of these cordials by persons whose constitutions were not particularly affected, or whose health was not seriously undermined. In Felt's "Annals of Salem" we are informed that Peter Jones distilled cinnamon, snake-root, clove-water, anise seed, orange, etc. Medford also distilled large quantities of these cordials. Every important event, whether political, social, or domestic, created a special demand for new rum.

The day when a pig was to be killed was an important occasion. Three or four men — generally assisted by several boys — could kill and dress one pig in an afternoon. In those days almost every man kept a pig, and one or more "hog-butchers" were found in every neighborhood. As about the same preparations were needed for the killing of a single animal as were required for half a dozen, there was a stirring time on many a Saturday afternoon, the day usually chosen to change the pig into pork. The bringing of something less than a barrel of water was the first step. This was often brought two pails at a time, the pails separated by an iron hoop resting against the bails, the

carrier standing in the center. It was often necessary, however, to take a good many steps in getting the water, as not every house had a well on the premises, and water had to be brought from a neighbor's more or less distant. Then a large fire had to be built to heat the water sufficiently hot to take the bristles off of the hog, (he generally got to be a hog before he was killed,) and some rosin pulverized to be used in making the cleaning more complete. This was a great event for the boys belonging to the establishment, who, taking domestic view of the matter, saw with a clear vision the bearing of that day's event upon the larder for many weeks to come. Besides spareribs, sausages, hams, etc., which occupied the forefront of the picture so full of solid comfort, they saw the incidental relations of the event in progress to doughnuts, pies, baked beans, etc., which make up, severally and collectively, so large a part of a boy's Elysium.

A story is told of one of these occasions that illustrates the spirit of the times in more senses than one.

The hero of the occasion may as well be called "Barnes" as anything else. Barnes could have given no very satisfactory explanation of the precession of the equinoxes, but he kept a pig and performed the various duties of a neighbor and citizen to the general satisfaction of those most interested. In due course of time this pig became a hog. The

"pig committee" had taken their last look at him, and the day was set for his exit from the sty to the dressing-tub. The party who had charge of the affair assembled, and the spokesman gave Barnes timely warning that two quarts of "New England" were needed to start with. The rum was furnished; one quart was drank, the other poured into the well. "Barnes, the rum is all gone," said the spokesman; "we shall want two quarts more." "Tar blow it, is that rum all gone?" said Barnes. "All gone," was the response. Two quarts more were supplied; one quart was drank, the other poured into the well. The process was repeated as the process of changing the conditions of the hog went on, and as night approached it was currently reported that Aunt Sally's well furnished pretty good rum.

In this case rum played the most conspicuous part in Barnes' experience; but he had an adventure in which a pig, or *the* pig (for tradition does not inform us whether it was the identical pig above alluded to) played by all odds the most important and attractive part. This pig broke loose from his sty one day, and rejoicing in his freedom, careered around the yard and garden, whose bounds now checked his desire for a larger liberty. Barnes, who had received notice of the enlarged view which the pig was taking, gave chase. As was usual in such cases the chase was watched with a good deal of interest by the crew who witnessed the spectacle

from the windows of the shop near by. The chase proceeded with ever-varying prospects of success. Sometimes the pig would be dangerously near Barnes' legs; and then with an "*oof*" he would "scoot" off at the sharpest possible angle to the remotest corner of the garden. One of the crew, named Downing, became much interested and put a question, or rather proposed a conundrum, which Barnes, in his excited frame of mind, was in no condition to answer—"Why do n't you catch him, Barnes?" Barnes stopped, and with great deliberation, exclaimed, "*I believe it 's just seventy-five.*"

As this oracular sentence is something of an enigma, it may be well to explain. Barnes held the position of creditor among the crew, some of whom — Downing among others — were in the habit of borrowing small sums, the amount of which was duly chalked upon the door. Downing's stood at seventy-five cents. When a dispute arose that ran into personal reflections, and Barnes was twitted of any delinquency, he would close the debate by pointing with impressive silence — and his finger — to the figures on the door. As this was not practicable while chasing a pig, he substituted the less impressive oral statement given above. In cases of emergency Barnes was in the habit of using expletives, and occasionally employed an adjective more appropriate to theological writings. On one occasion Barnes had lighted his candles

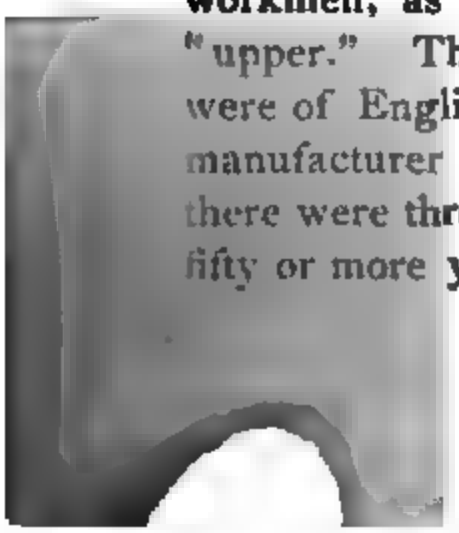
for his evening's work. As was often the case with poor candles, they burned blue for a while, then sputtered, and then went out. Young Martin, a youth who had arrived at that aggravating age too old to claim the exemptions of boyhood, and too young to take on the responsibilities of maturer age, saw the performance, and evidently felt an interest in the experiment. Barnes lighted the candles again, and left the shop for a few minutes. Martin blew out the lights, and with a wet sponge squeezed a drop of water upon the wick of each candle. Barnes, on his return, found his lights out, and supposing the tallow-chandler to blame, renewed his efforts to light up, but with no success. Martin held in as long as he could, but, boy-like, at last "snickered." Light dawned upon the mind of Barnes, though he got none from the candles, and fixing a penetrating gaze upon Martin, thus addressed him:—"*You 're an — adjective — ignorant young man!*" He then examined his candles, with the view of getting more light upon the subject.

BREAKING AWLS.

Perhaps one of the sorest experiences a boy had in old times in learning the "craft," was that which came from *breaking awls*. In order to fully appreciate the situation, the reader must take a survey of the whole field. It was a period of low wages.

Awls were the most expensive "kit" used by the shoemaker. There were two kinds chiefly used at that time — Woodward's and Hayes'. Woodward was the old manufacturer to whom Hayes was an apprentice; but the "'prentice hand" was soon able to turn out an article superior to that of his master — at least, this seemed to be the opinion of many among the "jours" of Lynn. But Woodward was for a long time unrivaled. The common price was five cents each. Some time after the price was reduced to four cents. These awls were introduced something more than sixty years ago. They were manufactured by Thomas Woodward, of Reading, Mass. A few years later his son, Thomas Woodward, Jr., set up the manufacture, and it was a question among the shoemakers which were the best.

The awls were of two kinds, diamond and round, so called from the shape of their points. The diamond-shaped were usually preferred, as they were thought to be less liable to become dulled by use; but the so-called round awls — these were rather flattened at their points — were often used by "don" workmen, as they were less liable to "cut" the "upper." The awls first in use in this country were of English manufacture. The name of the manufacturer was stamped upon each awl, and there were three kinds, more or less in use, some fifty or more years ago when those of American



make began to take their place. These were known as the Allerton, Wilson, and Titus awls, respectively. After the introduction of the American awl, the English article was not held in very high esteem by workmen employed upon ladies' shoes. They were badly shaped, and the points were left unfinished. The Allerton and Wilson had usually too long a crook, while the Titus was faulty in the opposite direction, being too straight, especially for certain kinds of work. They had, however, two important recommendations — they were better tempered, and therefore less liable to break, and their cost was only one-half, or less, that of the American awl.

Before the English awl was used, it was necessary to finish the points. This was sometimes done by grinding, sometimes by filing, and sometimes by sandpaper; and the points were smoothed off on a "whet-board," or by rubbing them on the pine floor. The man who could do this job skillfully was considered something of a genius. As already intimated, a boy could spoil a day's wages by breaking a few awls. If he was working on the seam on "long reds," and had a lot of extra hard soles on hand — some *hemlock tanned leather* for instance,—he had gloomy forebodings of the peril of the situation. If the master was a "hard" one, and the boy somewhat careless, there would most likely be an appeal to the "stirrup," whenever ac-

cidents of this kind rose above the average in frequency. History tells us that small events have often turned the tide of battle — that a fit of indigestion was said to have lost to Napoleon an important battle. Victor Hugo informs us that if the French peasant, Lacoste, had not failed to warn Napoleon of the "sunken road" near the field of Waterloo, the destiny of Europe might have been changed. In the same line many humbler examples might be given. An elderly citizen informed the writer that it was to one of these awl-breaking experiences that he owed one or two years' additional schooling. How much this modified his future life who can tell?

THE STIRRUP.

As might be expected, boys working in a shop together would often "skylark." One of this sort of boys was seated upon the shop-tub. This "tub" was a tall, firkin-shaped vessel, about one-third full of water at the date in question. By careful managing the boy kept himself from going down too far. Boy number two, seeing the precariousness of the situation, made a dive for his comrade, which resulted in seating him so far into the tub that he could not start without taking the tub with him. In the tussle he was rolled over with the shop-tub, and the boy, and all the surrounding

"berths" were drenched with a gallon or two of nasty water. In such cases the "stirrup" generally settled the matter to the satisfaction of all except those most interested. The "stirrup," as an emblem or instrument of authority, held the same place in a shoemaker's shop as the horsewhip or cowhide maintained on a more extended scale on the farm, and in agricultural districts generally; and probably for the same reason, *it was near at hand*. Boys are generally flogged when it is most convenient, and with what comes handiest. Accordingly a "stirruping" frequently made up a part of a day's programme, and when "down in the bill" could more generally be depended upon than the more dainty items on a bill of fare. A boy in the eastern part of the town was once murmuring some repinings over his earthly lot. "What do you want?" asked his master. "*I want something else*," said the boy, in a high tenor voice. "I'll give you something else," said the master, and taking a stirrup made the case so plain to the boy that he could see no flaw in his master's statement.

Boys were sometimes sent on errands in those days, as now. Occasionally a domestic crisis would arise demanding haste on the part of the boy. Perhaps the tinder was wet, and he was sent after a "brand's end;" or some other article was wanted, indispensable in a well-regulated family which had entered upon the second quarter of the nineteenth

century. The reader can imagine any number of such cases, more or less momentous, that have come to his own knowledge. In some such an emergency a boy was sent on an errand some time during Jackson's administration. No tidings were heard from him, at least by those most interested in his safe return. If a boy was ever known to do such a thing when he was strictly charged to "make haste," he might have stopped to have a game of marbles, or "two old cat." His father thought it was time to hunt him up; and taking his stirrup and stowing it away in the outside pocket of his green jacket, started in pursuit. In his haste he had left the end of the stirrup hanging out of the jacket pocket. The boy espied from afar somebody who had a familiar look, and whose movements showed that he was not out for a stroll, or to observe the beauties of nature. He also espied at the same instant the end of the stirrup hanging out of the jacket pocket aforesaid. This was a signal showing a low barometer and approaching storms. Without stopping to finish the game, or appoint a substitute to take his place, he started and reached home by a route whose boundaries had not been marked out by the selectmen as a public highway. He never told what were the precise terms of the final settlement after reaching the paternal roof; but in after years he used to relate with great gusto how the signal of danger streaming from the jacket

pocket had given him timely warning of impending peril. He had escaped the humiliation of a public castigation in the presence of his juvenile peers — and what humiliation can be greater in the eyes of a boy?

Sometimes a high degree of despotism was maintained over the boys working in some of these shops. They were regarded as having no rights that the men were bound to respect. They were expected to build the fire, "shift the tub," go for the black-strap, and run all the errands which the changes of circumstances required as the whirligig of time rolled on. If he objected, or remonstrated, he was called an "old man," prefixing an adjective the use of which is not countenanced in any manual of good behavior. An old veteran, now living and well known in our city, relates the following chapter in his own experience:

He was then a boy whose fourteenth birthday was near at hand. He had been domineered over and imposed upon by the shop's crew where he worked, and he resolved to end his degrading vassalage. He was a stout, muscular boy, and had a grip in his hands like that of a polar bear. When his birthday arrived he resolved to declare his independence. He informed the crew that henceforth he was not to be at their beck and call, and he gave them very emphatic warning that if they attempted to drive him he was ready for any emer-

gency. One of the crew had the temerity to make the trial; but before he had proceeded far, he found himself laid out upon his seat, his throat in the grip of the left hand of the young athlete, who informed his prostrate victim that no quarter would be given until he promised to respect the rights of his juvenile assailant. The workman, half choked and wholly frightened, made all the promises demanded. He was then allowed to get up. "Now," said the boy, "if there are any more who want to try their hand at this experiment, come right on." None felt like coming on. "From that day," said the old veteran, "I was free."

UNCLE PERKINS.

"Uncle Perkins," as he was familiarly called, was well known to the shoemakers of Lynn. As he entered one of these shops — whether a "ten-footer," or one of larger size — he had hard work to put himself, and his two large bundles, into the entry — measuring two and a half feet by three on the floor, when it did n't measure less — at the same time; and so one of the bundles made its appearance just inside the inside-door, while the other was partly outside the outside-door. If it was a cold day, the first salutation would be — "Uncle Perkins, shut the door as quick as possible; you 'll cool off the shop." But if no question of tempera-

ture overrode all other questions for the time being, then any one of the dozen questions might arise, such as — "What kind of bristles (commonly called "brussels" by shoemakers) have you got to-day?" or, "got some soft wax? We've got some that 'flies' all over the shop;" or, "Uncle Perkins, I shall want some awls; my boy broke two or three this forenoon;" or, "got some fine sand-paper?" To all of which Uncle Perkins would generally be able to reply in the affirmative.

It is hardly necessary to say to any one acquainted with Lynn thirty or forty years ago, that these two bundles which Uncle Perkins carried were made up of all sorts of shoemakers' "kit," from a "tack" up to a "long-stick," and two bundle handkerchiefs, just alike, each made of blue-striped gingham, or of something else. Uncle Perkins would make his rounds once in a fortnight, more or less, and his advent was sometimes looked for with a good deal of interest. After the several purchases were made, and the incidental comments upon the high or low price of this or that piece of kit, the conversation would often take a wider range, and show a decided political complexion — for Uncle Perkins was thoroughly imbued with the principles and doctrines of the Democratic party. He was well informed upon political questions, a man of sterling integrity of character, and was looked up to as a sort of oracle by the members of his party

throughout the town. So it was natural for some one to say, "Uncle Perkins, how are the elections going next fall? Has Clay got any chance?" "Not much, not much," Uncle Perkins would say, and then he would follow with his comments, telling what would give Polk the vote of this state, and what would give him the vote of the other. "You see native Americanism will tip him over in New York, and it looks as though the whole thing would turn on that state. The Whigs are making a good deal of noise about carrying New York, but they can't do it. Then Clay's extreme tariff notions will damage him south. Besides all this, the people have had enough of this hard-cider nonsense."

Like many of the Democratic leaders of those days, Uncle Perkins was opposed to the adoption of the city charter. He thought he saw lurking beneath the surface of its plausible provisions an insidious enemy of the people's rights. The concentration of power in the hands of the few, argued these leaders, was the rock upon which all the democracies of the world had split. "The old-fashioned town meeting is good enough for us," said they, "where all within the limits of our wide-spread town can meet together upon a common platform, and exercise the high prerogative of freemen without the intervention of representatives, which is a measure to be resorted to only when made necessary by uncontrollable circumstances." The prop-

osition to accept the charter was two or three times rejected in exciting elections that called out pretty much all the voters that ever went to town meeting. But the project slowly won the public favor. As the crisis approached, Uncle Perkins showed a good deal of interest. "If the charter is accepted," said he, "I 'll go to Russia." The charter was accepted. Eben S., an ingrained and irrepressible wag, heard of Uncle Perkins' declaration, and had his eye open to current events. Soon after the vote of the town had decided the question, Eben met an acquaintance, and thus accosted him: "So we 've lost Uncle Perkins." "Lost him? You do 'nt mean to say that Uncle Perkins is dead?" "O, no," said Eben, "he 's gone to Russia." "Gone to Russia! What do you mean?" "Why, he said he should go to Russia if the city charter was accepted. It 's accepted, you know, and I suppose he 's gone."

Mr. Perkins served his fellow-citizens in the Legislature in the session of 1832-3, and of 1843-4. He was as decided an anti-mason as he was a Democrat; and it was doubtless owing to this fact that he was selected to represent his fellow-citizens in those stormy times. And he was no less zealous as a temperance man. He was tenacious of his opinions, and outspoken in their utterance. Though a strong party man, he was held in high esteem by men of all parties for the sterling integrity of his

character, and his consistent Christian life. He was born in Haverhill in 1787, and came to Lynn when he was about twenty years of age. Soon after, he joined the First Methodist Church, then in its infancy, and lived to see the cherished faith of his youth prosper and spread as no other has done in our midst; for long before his death, he saw within the territory of the town, as it stood when he came within its borders, seven other flourishing Methodist churches, united by a common bond, and working together to a common end. He died January 15, 1865, at the advanced age of seventy-seven years and six months.

FASHIONS FIFTY YEARS AGO.

There are many who suppose that the fashions of to-day are sillier, and in every way more ridiculous and extravagant than any that were known in what is called old times. It needs but a superficial glance at the past to show that the golden age was not there; whether that age has reference to governments or laws, institutions or manners, fashions or customs, or any of the minor conditions that make up the warp and woof of human existence. To confine the view to our ancestors, let any one take the fashion-plates showing the costumes and various modes of dress that have prevailed in England, and in our country, during the last two or three hundred years, and he will see a height of ridiculousness and a depth of folly which the present age has never reached. Sometimes this folly showed itself in ladies' dress, sometimes in gentlemen's, and often in both. Fifty years ago it showed itself in gentlemen's dress. A dandy of that period was a sight to behold. Nothing in the line of representation short of a stereoscopic view can fully set

forth the salient points (and they were pretty much all salient points) of a figure dressed according to the standard of that day.

So far as the English language will hold out, the writer will attempt a description of a suit worn something less than a half-century ago. To begin with the boots. The toe was of about the same width as the ball. The corners were slightly rounded, the sole narrowing considerably for an inch or two, then widening again until it reached the full width of the bottom. This gave the toe of the boot a close resemblance to the snout of a shovel-nosed shark. It was expected that these boots would be made so snug as to require very strong straps; and before drawing them on, the heel of the stocking was soaped, and some pulverized soap-stone, or something else, was sprinkled into the boot to "ease it" in going on—just as the "ways" are greased when a ship is to be launched. How long it took to get on one of these boots depended upon the strength of the individual owner, the strength of the straps, and the faithfulness with which the maker of the boots had obeyed instructions to have a "good fit." But it is presumed that the "pants" were put on before the boots.

What was called the "Suwarrow boot" came into fashion about that time. It is not surprising that the Russian hero in the early Napoleonic wars should give his name to a particular style of boot

which he wore, or was supposed to wear. Did not Seleucus and Alcibiades and Iphicrates, and other eminent Greeks give their names to the fashionable shoes worn in their day? And in modern times have not Wellington and Blucher, Napoleon and Victoria, Moliere and the Duke Alexis, done the same thing? It is true, Suwarrow was a little insignificant looking man who did n't wash himself often, and when he did got somebody to throw three or four pails of water over his head and shoulders. It is true, also, that he was somewhat of a barbarian; but then he was tall enough and civilized enough to give his name to the "Suwarrow boot." And this was the kind worn by some of the young men fifty years ago. They were called "stiff-backs," as the tops were of leather stout enough to hold them up in position. This leather was of heavy calf-skin or kip-skin. The back part came up nearly to the bend of the leg; the top of the front was notched, and a tassel fastened at the bottom of the notch. The pantaloons fitting close to the legs, these boots were drawn on over them. Thus arrayed, a young man had a very warlike appearance, or rather a feudal aspect, and like some knight of old, seemed ready to go forth to vindicate his country's honor, or the fair fame of youth and beauty. If he needed anything to fully equip him it was one of the overcoats of the period *with five capes*. The first of these capes seemed to

grow out under the collar, and was five or six inches wide; the second was two or three inches wider; the third wider still, until the last one came down half way over his arms. These were sometimes — at a later period — buttoned on, so that the wearer, as he went out in the morning, could shed one of these capes as the temperature went up, and have a sort of sliding-scale, like the tariff of '32, or Peel's bill to abolish the corn laws. One of these coats, with its antique collars and its multitudinous capes, was worn until recently by one of our venerable citizens.

A youth of this period was expected to be encased in a pair of close-fitting pants. How these pants were put on has never been explained. They were expected to be about as snug as the skin everywhere except at the bottom, this exception making the principal distinction between them and those worn by the clown at the circus. The color was not, perhaps, so uniformly buff as the clown's. If no wrinkles were found, and the young man could get along, it was pronounced a *good fit*. The vest was of the most astonishing pattern, both in color and figure, and no one short of a Ruskin, or a rainbow-painter, could give a description of this part of a young man's outfit. The coat — if a dress-coat — bore the suggestive name of "claw-hammer," from the supposed resemblance of the tails to that well-known carpenter's tool. It was

made to sit snug in every part, especially in the sleeves. If it did n't, the tailor had made a mistake. It had a velvet collar which came up somewhere against the back part of the head. This coat was generally made of broadcloth, and was of such shade or color as suited the fancy of the wearer. The article worn on the head was a tall silk hat, the different styles of which have since taken the name of "stove-pipe:" and one of the styles at that time was the "sugar-loaf." It had a very narrow rim, but wide enough to give the wearer a chance to take it off.

One sort of outside garment worn about that time was made of blue camlet. This was sometimes made into cloaks, and sometimes into overcoats. After these were worn a spell they would fade out and look like what is called "birch-bark," and be about as stiff. From this they took the name of "birch." A man going along with one of them on would be likely to call out the remark — "There he goes with his 'birch' on." These were not absolutely water-proof, but rain would strike them and glance off like hail from a slated roof. A few men encased in these "birch" coats would *rustle* more than the forest that came to meet Macbeth.

The article, or thing, worn round the neck was called a "stock." The dictionaries inform us that this word is the same as that which designates the name of the instrument in which culprits used to

sit in old times. As an instrument of torture, this neckstock was rightly named. A man with one of these on had one advantage over the culprit,— he was not so likely to be pelted with rotten eggs. This stock varied from three to six inches in width, according to the length of the wearer's neck; and it seemed to be understood that every man was to wear one of the utmost capacity that his neck would permit. It was stuffed or worked with bristles. This made it stiff, so that the head could not work round in any such absurd manner as nature intended. A man could look straight ahead, and by careful management he could see a little way on either side of him. He could black his boots before he put his stock on; and as he would n't often want to drink at a brook, like a boy, this stock was no great drawback on that account. Above it, and about half-way between the mouth and ears, two points of a collar appeared. The rest of the collar was underneath. The surface measure of these points varied from half an inch to an inch square. They looked a good deal like a tooth-pick. Ruffled bosoms and ruffled wristbands completed this amazing toilet. If an alarm of fire startled a young man with one of these suits on, and he was a member of a fire company, it is presumed he paid the fine imposed for non-attendance. When he was inclosed in this manner, and had a little attar of rose on his handkerchief, he was as irresistible as the laws of

gravity. Description was not intended to apply to this class of objects. When a photograph is invented to take both sides of an object at once we may get an approximate idea of the original of this picture.

A boy's wardrobe at this period was a study for an archæologist; not indeed for its elaborateness, but for its uniqueness and simplicity. If there was any elaborateness exhibited it was in the wonderful manner in which clothes were patched. Perhaps there is nothing that more clearly shows the change that has taken place in the condition of the masses than the patches and tattered wardrobe of a large part of mankind in past ages compared with that worn at the present day. The exemption from rags and patches is doubtless more marked in our own country than in any other; but it is also true that all over the civilized world the art of patching is becoming a lost art; and that not many decades hence specimens of these variegated garments, inlaid and overlaid with domestic mosaics, will be exhibited in museums as evidence of a semi-barbarous state. Fifty years ago, and even less, almost everybody, when not "dressed up," wore patched clothes. A woman was as much expected to do a certain amount of patching as she was to make bread, or perform any other domestic duty. A man with a patch on each knee attracted no more attention than a man sawing wood; and if the patches were

of a different color from the original fabric, nobody stopped in the street to look at him. Clothes in those days were worn until they were worn out; and it was not an uncommon sight to see a garment — more especially pantaloons — so elaborately overlaid with patches of different shades and texture, that it required some discrimination to tell what the original or foundation was, on which the successive layers were spread. When a pair of these pantaloons got to be ten or fifteen years old they weighed a good deal, and were not a proper dress for a sick person. Such a specimen would present to the future antiquarian at a single view a comprehensive idea of the various textile fabrics made in our country in the early part of the century, if unfortunately, all other records should be lost.

Children's and boys' clothes were generally of domestic or home manufacture. When this was not the case they were usually made by women who had not spent many years in learning the tailor's art. Gentlemen's clothes were more commonly *cut* by professional men tailors, and sometimes *made* by them, especially those that were kept as the "Sunday suit." Men's every-day clothes were often cut and made at home, but sometimes by women who make a specialty of this kind of work. These had often learned no trade, but "picked it up," being "handy with the needle." Some of these did no cutting, but made garments

after they had been cut by professional men tailors. When a coat or jacket was to be made for a boy, special instructions were given to the tailor to cut it *large enough* so that he would not too soon outgrow it. When a boy first made his *debut* in one of these garments on some pleasant Sunday morning he presented a very much covered-up appearance. The sleeves came down pretty well over the hands; but as he was not expected to eat dinner in an overcoat, this did not interfere with that freedom of action so needful at that important meal. Envious boys would make invidious remarks to the wearer of such a coat. They would remind him that it was new, and that there was a good deal of it. "Where did you get so much coat?" "Is that your grand-daddy's?" were some of the salutations that fell unpleasantly on the ear of the wearer of one of these comprehensive and prospective garments. If the inquirer was a little "salt" he would tell the boy to "take a reef in it." In order to meet the exigencies of future growth, large seams were sometimes taken in making boys' clothes. These seams could be "let out" as occasion required. As these clothes were made upon an hypothesis, full swing was given to the prophetic powers of the tailor, unlimited by "mete or bound." Whether a boy invested in one of these suits, which made so large drafts upon the future, was to be a Calvin Edson or a Daniel Lambert, was a problem he

could ponder at his leisure, aided by all the lights that science and experience had afforded in the ages past.

Some forty odd years ago a boy had one of these coats made. The material was a sort of fabric not often seen at the present day. It was of a dark green color, supposed to be wool, somewhat finer than a blanket, and a good deal coarser than broadcloth. The making of a coat like this was regarded as an epoch in a boy's life, and no small amount of interest centered in the case. The job was put into the hands of a veteran tailor who was charged, in the most emphatic manner, to cut it so that it would not interfere with the boy's future growth. This charge was repeated occasionally from the time of the first interview until the large shears decided the matter beyond recall. A wag, who knew the circumstances, said the whole family got measured for this coat; but this, no doubt, was a rhetorical embellishment. In due time the boy made his appearance, clad, and more than clad, in this new outfit. Its upper dimensions were not more than two or three years in advance of the boy's size; but around the waist, and in that region so graphically set forth by Shakspeare in his description of Falstaff, there was room and "verge" enough for the most aldermanic proportions. When the boy was about to put on this coat of the future, some one of the family would remark, "Come, put on

your blanket." What effect this garment had in curing or checking dyspepsia in the neighborhood was never known.

RIGHTS AND LEFTS.

This term was used to specify those shoes made upon lasts that were supposed to bear a closer resemblance to the human foot; or which recognized the anatomical distinction between the right foot and the left. The shoes were also called "crooked," as an equivalent expression. Whether the term "crooked" was first given by some wag, whose conscientious regard for truth would not permit him to use the more common term, or whether it had a different origin, the writer has not been able to determine. Certain it is that if *shape* had anything to do in deciding the question the term, as often applied, was as exact as the nature of the case would permit. But as the term "straight" was applied to shoes that were not "rights and lefts," it seems to have been used by way of distinction rather than with any reference to etymological consistency. It is unknown when this style was first introduced, but it doubtless has a high antiquity.

It is probable that the sandal, the most ancient protection for the feet, was made to conform to the general outline of the human foot in this respect. While it is not unlikely that the most primitive san-

dals worn by man, designed merely to protect the soles of the feet, did not observe any of the distinctions so manifest in this part of man's anatomy, it is evident that, as civilization advanced, and a knowledge of the arts extended, a more exact conformation of the article worn to the shape of the foot, was recognized, as is seen in the various specimens that have been preserved. In more modern times the distinction of "right and left" is manifest in the various models and engravings, as well as the antiquarian relics of the shoemaker's craft found in old museums, and other repositories of medieval and ancient art.

History informs us that Cæsar Augustus, the Roman emperor, was supposed to have narrowly escaped a great calamity, the risk of which he had incurred by the evil omen of putting the right shoe upon the left foot, and the left shoe upon the right foot; as it was held among the Romans that to put the left shoe on first, or to put either shoe upon the wrong foot, was each a sign of ill luck.

Shakspeare alludes to it in a passage that has greatly puzzled critics who were ignorant of the technicalities of the shoemaker's art; and also, perhaps, ignorant of the fact that this fashion, which prevailed in the poet's time, became obsolete some time after, and was not, possibly, again revived until a comparatively recent period. Such at least

is the intimation given by Hudson in a note upon the following passage in Shakspeare's "King John:"

> "Standing on slippers (which his nimble haste
> Had falsely thrust upon contrary feet.)"

Another allusion is found in "The Two Gentlemen of Verona."

But it is hardly probable that the fashion remained obsolete for any great length of time, especially respecting boots and shoes for men's wear. Fashions repeat themselves at short intervals, and there seems to be a clear intimation in the fashion-plates representing the various styles of boots and shoes worn by men and women during the last three hundred years that the natural distinction of "right and left" was observed. This fashion, however, as relating to men's shoes, seems to have been for sometime obsolete at the beginning of the present century, both in England and in this country, when it revived. Ladies' shoes were not made in this style until some twenty years later. I have been informed by an aged citizen that the first set of "right and left" lasts for ladies' shoes were introduced into Lynn in 1822 by Daniel Silsbee, of Woodend. He obtained them in Philadelphia, and they were made of persimmon wood. But these were probably not the first. Cyrus Houghton informs me that he had seen then as early as 1810 or '12.

As is well known, men's boots and shoes are

usually made "rights and lefts," straight shoes being the exceptions, and these mostly of the coarser kinds, except in the few cases where they are made to order; but with ladies' shoes, as made in Lynn, and vicinity, the rule has been the other way — a much larger number — even since the revival of the style some fifty, or more, years ago — having been made "straight."

When a boy who had learned the "craft" got his first "set" of "right and left" lasts, it engrossed his whole being till the novelty wore off. If this epoch in his life happened on Saturday, but a small portion of the next day's sermon was remembered, and it is doubtful if he could accurately repeat the text. Visions of artistic triumphs over the various difficult combinations of upper and sole leather filled his imagination, as, in his mind's eye, he saw the product of his genius grow up under his creative hand from the crudest materials, until the finishing touch made it fit for an occasion like that —

> "When Hebe's foot bore nectar round
> Among the old celestials."

There was a degree of responsibility in making "rights and lefts" that was not experienced by workmen who had not risen to that distincton. This was when the uppers were cut "rights and lefts," as in the case of side-laced boots. The "gaiter boot" — introduced some forty-five years

ago — requiring the "lace" on the inside, was sometimes "lasted" on the wrong side, and the mistake was not discovered until it was too late to correct the blunder; and it was necessary, as a choice of evils, to make up the pair with the "lace" on the outside. As these hybrid productions were usually thrown upon the workman's hands, who paid the cost of stock, his only hope was to sell them at a reduced price to some peddler who carried them to a remote market where the despot of fashion held less absolute sway.

THE ORDER SYSTEM.

The order system, as it existed in Lynn a generation ago, or more, was an outgrowth, and improvement upon, the barter system which everywhere prevails in an undeveloped state of society. A history of the changes that have taken place in this particular during the last fifty years could be summarized in a very brief statement; but a history of the *causes* of these changes would not only require a chapter upon political economy — a chapter usually without interest to the general reader — but a treatise long enough to contain the record of the progress of society during the most important half century of the world's history. The order system was but a rude attempt to supply a better medium of exchange. Like all crude methods it was costly; and especially costly to the operative who received his wages in these uncertain substitutes for more scientific money. In the last days of its existence this system was unsparingly denounced by labor reformers, and unstinted obloquy was cast upon those who were supposed to have an interest

in maintaining and perpetuating it. In its last days it was an abuse because better things were possible; but when it was established it was better than the system that preceded it. Its establishment and overthrow only show the progress of society that avails itself of new methods, when old ones have shown themselves to be clumsy and inefficient, as compared with the better agencies which more favorable conditions have made possible.

The order system, if we use the term with any degree of strictness, cannot be made to extend beyond the limits of a period dating from the establishment of the Union Store in 1829, and including the next fifteen or twenty years. Orders were in use to a greater or less extent for a quarter of a century, more or less, prior to this date, and their use, doubtless, extended with the growth of business, and the increase of population: but the amount received by workmen in these orders was small when compared with the whole amount of their wages. Orders were given chiefly for the purchase of dry goods. As early as 1810 (and probably earlier) some of the manufacturers gave orders on Joel and Isaac Newhall, of Salem, who kept a large stock of foreign and domestic goods. This firm was usually abbreviated into "Joel and Isaac." Some "bosses" paid their binders exclusively in orders on dry goods stores. But at this early period payment in orders was rather the exception than the

rule. Before the more general introduction of the order system, manufacturers kept a supply of goods of various kinds which workmen received in pay for their labor. The larger "boss" could command a greater variety of commodities, and was thus enabled to give his workmen a choice and range in his purchases, which the manufacturer of smaller means was not able to offer. Under such a system the workman must content himself with what he could get for his labor; and oftentimes this was very meager in variety and exorbitant in price. The workman of the present generation has little idea of the nature and value of that which was received as the wages of labor by the shoemaker fifty years ago. Under the old system, when he bartered his labor for whatever commodities the small manufacturer was able to get in exchange for his shoes, he was often compelled to subsist upon the barest necessaries of life. If he could get more of these than were absolutely required to save his children from hunger, and clothe them in the cheapest and most scanty manner, he was, perhaps, able by some roundabout exchange, to procure a few of what are now the common comforts of life — to get a little medicine for his family, and by a sacrifice of twenty-five per cent. get money enough to pay his poll tax. Under these circumstances, it is easy to see that life was a struggle, with little hope that that struggle would be less

severe as coming years brought increased responsibilities, and with these added responsibilities the loss of youthful vigor.

The small stock of supplies kept on hand by the manufacturers before the order system prevailed was intended to include the common necessaries of life — both food and clothing, or rather material for clothing — the day of ready-made clothing, except on a limited scale, not having then arrived. The quality of these goods, though often the best that could be got, was generally inferior, and the prices charged were some twenty-five to thirty per cent. more than were asked when payments were made in cash. No very exact data are obtainable showing the wages earned at that time — say the period between 1820 and 1830 — but from figures referring to a somewhat later date, a very close approximation can be made. The average rate of wages between the dates here given was probably less than five dollars a week. These dollars being worth about seventy cents in cash, the weekly wages of each workman were not more than three dollars and fifty cents. But the price of most commodities was very low, and the purchasing power of money some thirty per cent. greater than during the ten years ending 1840.

The introduction of the order system was an improvement in two particulars. It brought within reach of the workmen a much greater variety of

goods he would like to buy, so far as his means would permit, and by making competition more direct, reduced the cost of these commodities nearer to a cash standard. Some of these order stores were quite extensive, and kept a large variety of goods of every description — groceries, provisions, boots, shoes, hats, hardware and crockery, besides a large assortment of dry goods.

THE UNION STORE.

The Union Store was one of the best of this class. It may interest some to know that this store stood near the spot now occupied by the apothecary shop of S. C. Tozzer & Co., Broad street, and was built in 1810. It was first used as a Quaker schoolhouse. It now stands on Exchange street, and is used as the leather store of the firm of Breed & Hilliker. This store was established in the spring of 1829, and it was first advertised under the head of "New Store" in the Lynn *Mirror* of May 30th. To this advertisement were appended the names of James Pratt, Nathan Breed and Isaiah Breed. The public were notified that William F. Ingalls was placed in charge of the store as agent. Micajah C. Pratt, if not one of the founders, became one of the proprietors soon after. Its business increased very fast, until its sales reached the amount of sixty thousand dollars in a single year — a large business for

Lynn in those days. James Pratt held his connection with the Union Store but a short time, and the late Samuel Boyce became one of the proprietors. The opening of this store relieved the proprietors from the necessity of keeping goods at their factories with which to supply their workmen. At first orders were taken from the proprietors only; goods being sold to the public generally for cash or approved credit. Afterwards orders were taken from any manufacturer whose credit stood high enough to command the confidence of the owners of the store. The orders of the Union Store were the next best thing to cash, and were current to a great degree throughout the town. Some of the apothecaries received them, and the doctor and others, whose bills were expected to be settled in cash, would often take these orders, especially when the alternative was this kind of pay or none. These orders were printed, with blanks for amount, date, etc., and signed by the manufacturer, or his clerk. They read as follows:—"Please deliver to the bearer goods to the amount of ——."

The order system was at its height between the years 1830 and 1840. A few manufacturers paid cash. All through these years, and even earlier, certain "bosses" attracted the attention of workmen by advertising to pay cash. The prices were, of course, lower than when orders were given. When a workman was able to show his money

after carrying in his shoes on a Saturday afternoon, he was the envy of the shop's crew; and if it was a kind of money that would "*jingle*" it raised its possessor above his fellow-craftsmen. But he was an object of special admiration and astonishment to the boys, who regarded him as occupying an eminence, and who looked up to him as a mitigated Rothschild. Such is the power of coin — or rather such *was* the power of coin. It must be remembered that these were the days just before "pet banks" had made paper money plenty — before "Old Bullion" had promished his "mint drops," and charitably hoped that these would find their way into the pockets of the people, as Henry the Fourth of France had benevolently wished that every peasant in his kingdom might have a chicken to put in his dinner pot.

It was generally understood that not much work was to be done on Saturday afternoon. That was the time to carry in the "work" — as the phrase was — to the bosses, to get a new lot, to draw the order on the Union Store — or some other store — to lay in provision for the next week, so far as the order would go, and to bring home the "shoes and stuffs," as the upper and bottom stock was called, and also the load of supplies, (often a small load,) which was to support the family until Saturday came round again. This load was generally taken home in a "truckle-cart" or a wheelbarrow; or, if

snow covered the ground, on a sled or a hand "pung." These "carts," so called, contrary to all authority, for the most part had four solid wheels, and these wheels were not always made at the wheelwright's. On the contrary, they were often "hacked out" at home with a dull hatchet, and described a figure not named in any treatise on geometry from Euclid to the present day. Some of these were nearly round. The eccentricity was very much greater than the concentricity, and as they went "wabbling" along, the hind wheels did not always follow the direct line of the fore wheels. In this respect they were unlike a Newport buggy. Besides these "truckle-carts" there was a sort of "go-cart" with two wheels — the largest number a cart can have, at least so the dictionaries tell us — having a "pole" or handle fastened to the axletree, while at the other end, more loosely joined, was seen a man or boy pushing, when it was necessary to put these carts in motion. As their center of gravity was somewhere directly in front of the wheels, or more strictly the axletree, it was rather a nice job to load one of them so as to equalize the burden, and guard against a catastrophe. If loaded too heavily behind, and the man or boy at the end of the "pole" suddenly lets go his hold, the load was "dumped," and flour, meal, pork, molasses, butter, vinegar, sugar, etc., were prematurely and disproportionately mixed. On either side of the

front steps, and on each side of the building, were arranged these miscellaneous and nondescript vehicles. The miller's rule was observed — first come, first served, — at least this was the theory; for sometimes this theory was rendered *null* by a smart boy, who, in the crowd of competitors claiming the attention of the clerks of the store — or "tenders," as they were called — would elbow a more youthful or less smart boy aside, and if necessary shake his fist at him. As posterity may be interested in knowing the average contents of one of these "teams," the following list is given with posterity in view: — Fourteen pounds of flour, half a peck of rye meal, (six and one-quarter pounds,) half a peck of Indian meal, a pound of butter, a pound of sugar, a quart of molasses, a quarter of a pound of tea, a pound of coffee, a pound of salt pork, a quart of white beans, a salt fish, and occasionally a small quantity of several minor articles. If the purchaser was in straitened circumstances — and there were a good many of that kind — several of the most luxurious articles of this list must be struck out, and the quantity of each article remaining divided by two. These carts, wheelbarrows, sleds, pungs, etc., were distributed all over town in front of the "bosses'" shops where they took in the "stock" for the next week's work, and got the "order" for the cartload of provisions, more or less. If the order was not all taken up at the store, the amount ex-

pended was charged upon the back, and the balance due taken at another time.

It may be well to mention that the week's "work" was often carried in with a good deal of trepidation and not a little misgiving. Especially was this the case with the poor workman, who made what was called a "howler;" and it may also be well to mention in parenthesis that the names given to some of these not very artistic specimens of the "craft" were unique and expressive. They were called regular "guzzlers," or "howlers," or "slaps," and were never selected to "put on the top of the box," and the makers of such were never employed to make a sample pair for a Mechanic's Fair. When these workmen entered the bosses' shops it was with fear and trembling. They expected that every lot would be their last. Perhaps news had arrived from the South (there was no West then) that the cotton crop was coming short, or that some great failure had occurred. Then there was a general expectation that they would "get the sack," or "be turned off," which meant that their labor was no longer needed. To men never rising above poverty, and standing always on the brink of want, these tidings brought deprivation and suffering before their face; but if no such tidings came, and especially if the boss gave notice to "hurry up," and gave them a new set of lasts, then they took their order and marched off to the Union Store with a

lighter step than many a man who does n't know where to invest his money; and when at last he reached home, the news and the new lasts spread joy through a whole neighborhood.

But it must not be supposed that all the shoes made were "carried in" to the bosses' shops in carts, wheelbarrows, or in any one-wheeled, two-wheeled, or four-wheeled conveyance. Besides all these, many men and boys of all sizes and ages might have been seen with a "string" of shoes in each hand that firmly adhered to the "waxed-end" that tied each pair together. If a shower came up at this juncture, there was generally a chance to "dodge" into some house or shop by the wayside. Others were seen with one or more cotton bandanna handkerchiefs full of shoes placed "heels to toes," according to the rule of packing. Still others were seen with baskets of different descriptions, varying in size from one holding a peck, which could be conveniently taken in one hand, to the bushel basket requiring one on either side to carry it, when packed with shoes. Occasionally a *clothes-basket* was made to do this service on a Saturday afternoon. The baskets were all used for domestic purposes at other times, the art of basket-making not yet having tried its ingenuity in making the "shoe-basket" proper, which, at a later day, superseded all other methods of conveying to the bosses' shops the products of the workmen's labor.

There were lively times at the Union Store on those Saturday afternoons. Four or five "tenders" were busy in different parts of the establishment, doing their best to answer the numerous and somewhat confusing calls of their promiscuous patrons, who ranged all the way from the boy of six, who pushed behind the cart, up to the old man of eighty. One of the clerks would be at the dry goods' counter: another in the second story managing the sales of crockery, and men's and boys' boots and shoes; another would have his head half way into a pork barrel, trying to hook up a piece of pork to suit a fastidious customer: another, perhaps, would be leading a boy out by the ear from behind a counter, where he had strayed to try the quality of a few raisins, and look knowing, as he had seen the men do. This state of things was kept up all through the afternoon and evening, and if those in charge of the store were able to lock up at eleven o'clock they thought themselves lucky.

Sometimes an accident or episode would occur to some one of these several "teams" on the way home. Perhaps the roads were "heavy," and a wheel would get twisted off. Then the disabled team would be hauled up to one side of the road for repairs, and a messenger would be sent to the nearest shoemaker's shop for a supply of "waxed-ends" to make good the damage. Perhaps one of the carts, with a specially unique structure, would

be met by a boy who would make some disparaging remarks concerning the general style of the vehicle, the size and running of the wheels, etc., and close his observations with the irrelevant inquiry whether the top was not an old soap box. This would be considered beyond *boy* human endurance, and the urchin having charge of the team would start for the offender (having first run him over with his eye, and taken his dimensions) to "fetch him a crack." If this was done successfully, he would again start for home: and if he lived in the eastern section of the town, he would hear, after reaching a distance making the experiment a safe one, a sound breaking the stillness of the air which seemed to intimate that he with the "soap-box cart" was a "Woodender." Then a rejoinder would be hurled back to the effect that if any other "Puddin'-hiller" wanted anything, to come on.

For the sake of clearness it may be well to state that the "Puddin'-hill" of old times included the territory lying near the upper or eastern end of Broad street, and between that part of the street and the sea. At that time Nahant street was the only street in that entire territory lying east and south-east of what are now Broad and Lewis streets.

The arrival of these "teams" at home would give rise to many inquiries and interesting debates. "What did the boss say to 'em, Joe?" "He said you must sew 'em shorter — they 'grinned.'" "That

all he said?" "Old T. stuck his thumb into the bottom of one of 'em, and said it was n't worth two cents." "Well, he got hold of the last one I made: it was n't quite 'baked,' and it had a soft sole." "Did you get any money of your boss, Jim?" "He let me have two dollars, and told me I could n't have any more till after Thanksgiving. He said I must n't expect money in 'Locofoco' times." (This term originated about this time, 1834.) "Well, that 's more than I expected to get. What kind of stock have you got? Has he given you a lot more of that 'dry hide?'" "Dry hide" was the special abomination of the shoemaker. These hides came from a distance — largely from California and South America — and were necessarily dried before tanning. This gave the leather a stiff, wiry texture, quite in contrast with the soft, pliable "slaughter leather," so called because it was tanned soon after it was taken from the animal. After looking over the stock, the "shop-tub" was shifted, and that part of the stock required for immediate use was "wet up" so that it might get "seasoned" by Monday morning. Then, if there was time, the knives must be "ground." All workmen were not equally particular about this matter. Some "ground" their knives regularly every Saturday afternoon, or oftener. Others would use them until they became so "round" at the edge as to be a subject of comment through the neighborhood. Uncle B. was

one of this sort. On one occasion a wag thought he would try an experiment with one of Uncle B.'s knives. Taking, without Uncle B.'s knowledge, his skiver, which the owner was obliged to hold at an angle of forty-five degrees when he attempted to "gnaw off" a little in skiving a sole — so round was the edge — the wag ground it down thin, whet it to a keen, smooth edge, and carefully put it back in the "rack" with the rest of the knives. When the time arrived to use it, Uncle took it, set it at the accustomed angle on the sole, and made the usual vigorous push. The sole was in two pieces, each having a "feather edge." Uncle B. found that playing with edge tools was *costly* if not dangerous.

The grinding of knives — on a Saturday afternoon especially — was a job that no boy ever pined for, as his part was to "turn the stone." Kepler might indulge his fine theories about the "music of the spheres," as he fancied the nearer planets played the high notes, while the most distant sounded the grand bass in nature's majestic symphony; but no boy's eye was set "rolling in fine frenzy" as he viewed the revolutions of the grindstone; and all its "poetry of motion" was lost upon his gross and materialistic mind. His eye rolled, but it was not because he was entranced with the "concord of sweet sounds," nor because the revolving grindstone overwhelmed him with the contemplation of the mysterious law of gravity; it rolled because his

back ached. Any quarry slave, any galley slave, *any* bondman, whether "hereditary," or otherwise, was a king on a throne compared to the unfortunate victim bound to such miserable toil on a Saturday afternoon; while the shouts of the distant ball-players, mingled with the creakings of the grindstone, fell like torturing music on his sensitive ear.

The theory was, that Saturday afternoon was a sort of half holiday for the boys. Hard masters and stern fathers often nullified this theory, and kept their boys at work, while more favored ones were enjoying the freedom of the streets or the playground. To these boys at work the shoutings and hootings of their companions, as they shot across the skating pond, or bounced over the "jolts" down the steep hill on a home-made sled shod with sheet-iron, or played at ball in a neighboring field, caused a feeling nearly akin to homesickness; and they would have been utterly cast down had they not been cheered by the hope that the "stint" would soon be done, and they would soon be able to join the youthful revelers, and add their *yells* to swell the discordant chorus. "One more, and then," was all that saved them from despair. A "stint" (commonly called a "stent") was usually given to boys. This was a certain number of pairs to be "sewed," or made, as the case might be; and when this task was done the time was their own. This was often a temptation for early rising, so that the

day's work might be finished in season for any sport that was at hand.

The following anecdote shows that inducements of a more refined and ethereal nature were sometimes held out as a temptation to break the bands of Morpheus: — A Quaker — it may be presumed of a poetical temperament — was said to have given his son the following glowing invitation to resume the active duties of the day — "Arise, John Henry! the sun is gilding the eastern horizon with sapphire and gold." One can imagine a boy taking a purely esthetic view of the case, and jumping right out of bed.

The prevalence of the order system some forty years ago showed itself in various ways. Not only shoemakers took orders for their work, but professional men also for their services. Pew taxes were paid in orders by those who could not command the cash. As a matter of necessity the minister took his pay in the same currency. An elderly citizen remembers to have seen one of our clergymen, with his little "cart," drawing home his small load of the necessaries of life from the Union Store. This was no uncommon occurrence; and the sentiment of time is shown by the following circumstance, which happened a few years later: — A dignified clergyman called at a store to purchase a small amount of a single article, and requested that it be sent to his house. (A few of the stores had just then be-

gun to deliver the more bulky goods.) This was commented upon wherever it was known as an evidence of aristocratic tendency that would destroy democratic simplicity. One can imagine, by a little stretch of the fancy, some of our professional men drawing a "little cart," or any other cart, through Broad or Market street loaded with groceries. But times change, and men are changed with them. This sage observation, made by some old Roman, is usually put in Latin, but as English is quite common now, most people will understand it readily enough in that less classical tongue.

As already intimated, the order system was the outgrowth of cruder and more clumsy methods of exchange. It was the time of long credits — the bane of all commercial prosperity, and no less of individual thrift, to be justified only by the sternest necessity. Shoes were sold on six and nine months; and it was sometimes a year before the manufacturer got his returns, Almost all sorts of traders' bills were allowed to run a year; and especially was this the case when their trade was mutual. Accordingly the annual settlement was a great event. This usually took place on New Year's day. The boss carpenter, or the boss painter — there were but few such in those days — would have a running account with the grocer and farmer, and there was an excellent chance for a wrangle over disputed charges, as item after item was ex-

amined which memory could not recall. Sometimes the larger part of a day was consumed in these annual settlements in ineffectual attempts to adjust differences; and the setting sun would see no prospect of clearing up the difficulties. Then the whole matter, or the part unsettled, would be put off to a future time, or to another New Year's day, when, possibly, a more favorable state of the weather, or a more healthy condition of the liver, or some other favoring circumstances, would improve the chances of a settlement. But if no dispute arose, the accounts would be balanced, the larger debtor paying the difference in cash, or possibly, in an order; and when neither of these methods were practicable, settlement would be made by a note running three or six months. But, whether settled one way or another, a good "swig" of "black-strap" or "New England" was generally taken to smooth off the corners, and put things on a harmonious footing for the time to come.

THE MECHANICS' STORE.

The original proprietors were James Pratt, Daniel Farrington and Amos Mower — Mr. Pratt having then recently withdrawn from the management of the Union Store — and G. W. Mudge was appointed agent. The Mechanics' Store continued under this management for five or six years, and

did a large business, Mr. Mudge having, at that early day, acquired a high reputation as a salesman. At the end of this time Mr. Mudge bought out the stock, and was sole proprietor for nine months, at the end of which time he took as partner Isaiah Nichols, and the business was continued under the firm of Mudge & Nichols. This firm kept a large stock, and a great variety of goods, and their business was one of the largest in the town at that time. This store at first stood a few rods westward of the present manufactory of Henry M. Hacker, on Broad street. It was afterwards removed to the corner of Green and Broad streets — the store now occupied by J. W. Carswell.

The following is the list of shoe manufacturers doing business in Lynn in 1829: —

John D. Attwill,
Nelson R. Attwill,
Jesse L. Attwill,
Nathaniel Alley,
Manuel Austin,
Joseph Alley,
Amos Burrill,
Jonathan Boyce & Son,
Isaac Bassett, Jr., & Son,
Samuel Brimblecomb,
Samuel Bacheller, 3d,
Samuel Bacheller, Jr.,
Thomas Bowler,
Joseph Breed, 3d,
Aaron Bachelder,
Theophilus Burrill,
Joseph B. Breed,
Ebenezer Brown,
John Burrill,
Alanson Burrill,
Daniel Breed,
Charles Chase,
Nathan D. Chase,
Daniel Chase,
Jacob Chase, Jr.,
Samuel Collins,
John B. Chase,
Hugh Davis,

Joseph M. Fuller,
Daniel Farrington,
Abel Houghton,
Theophilus Hallowell,
David Hawkes,
Cyrus Houghton,
Aug. Blaney Ingalls,
Jacob Ingalls,
Williams Ingalls,
Samuel J. Ireson,
Nathaniel Ireson,
George Johnson,
Francis Johnson,
Humphrey S. Johnson,
John Knights,
R. Warren Lindsey,
James Lakeman,
Amos Mower,
E. M. Mansfield,
Nathan Mudge,
Daniel L. Mudge,
Josiah Newhall,
Paul Newhall,
Stephen Oliver,
Rufus Parrott,
William Parrott,
James Pratt,
Micajah C. Pratt,
John Pratt,
Thomas Raddin,
Sewell Raddin,
George W. Raddin,
Christopher Robinson,
Daniel Silsbee,
Samuel Spinney,
David Taylor,
Jonathan Watson.

WOODEND FIFTY YEARS AGO.

A half-century ago and the Village House — since transformed into a dwelling house — stood where it now stands, at the corner of Essex and Fayette streets, the most imposing building on Village Square. The stream of travel flowing from the towns lying at the north and east, and directed to the eastern section of the town, entered Lynn by way of Essex street, to Village Square, where a portion of it, at least, stopped. A good many teams

watered their horses at the old pump still standing in the center of the square, unless, what is quite probable, a pump of more modern workmanship fills the same place. The drivers of the teams were not so likely to drink there as the horses were. Water was then regarded, as now, a good drink for a horse. But there was a popular idea at that time that water, pure and simple, was a dangerous drink for man, and so the drivers, having due regard for their health, often stepped into the Village House to find a safer beverage. As the Village House was a tavern, it is not surprising that entertaiment for man and beast could be found there. Entertainment included refreshment, refreshment included all the various kinds of drink, ranging all the way from common and cheap New England rum up to the less common and more expensive brandy, a catalogue embracing anise seed and snake-root cordial, West India rum, gin, and wine of different kinds. West India rum usually meant Jamaica, as from that island we then got our chief supply of that important article of commerce. This was before England abolished slavery in her colonies, when the importation very largely dropped off ; the emancipated negroes feeling no special interest in maintaining the commercial renown of Great Britain. But it probably did n't make much difference in the amount of "Jamaica" that could be supplied, as that "brand" could be manufactured

from an inferior liquor in quantities to meet any reasonable demand. If this adulteration was well done, an old toper who had "tipped his elbow" a good many times, could n't tell it from the genuine article. But the regular "Jamaica" stood way ahead of all other kinds of rum, even of rum made in the other West India islands. It had a peculiar color, flavor and consistency, that gave it a high repute. As its price was about twice as high as common "New England," it was used on special occasions when it was desirable to emphasize some important event, such as birthdays, weddings, Fourths of July, and whenever one felt rich enough to indulge in the luxury.

But this matter of Jamaica rum, in particular, or "refreshment," in general, has only an incidental relation to the teams we left standing at the town pump; though the relation of the *drivers* of the teams to "Jamaica," or some other kind of rum, was a little too close and regular to be considered incidental. Some were bound to Ireson & Ingalls', whose large store on Olive street was visited by customers far and near. This firm did an extensive business, and bought in large quantities, for those times. They supplied many of the smaller stores, especially with flour, meal, and grain. Marvelous to the ears of boys were the stories told of the cargoes of corn and molasses bought by these great dealers. They sold mostly for cash. Men who

had been accustomed to take orders pretty much all their lives were astonished when they heard how cheap goods could be bought at Ben. Ireson's. As there were but few cash stores at that time, the small number who received cash for their work, came — some of them a long distance — to avail themselves of the low prices at which many things were sold at the noted store on Olive street. Mr. Ireson was a very hard-working, prudent business man. Like most men of his time, he had few early advantages, but he had a clear head and natural sagacity that served in good stead the lack of school training. A prominent lawyer of our city, whom Mr. Ireson was in the habit of consulting upon business matters, remarked that it was wonderful to observe with what clearness he saw through the complications of a difficult case, and how exactly he could state the points he wished to set forth. He usually had a pleasant word for the boys. He had the peculiarity of indulging in a little quiet humor by calling some of these boys by a brother's or a father's name; especially if such boys were somewhat particular in maintaining their identity. "Well, John," he would say, as one of these came into the store, perhaps for the fiftieth time, "what's wanted this morning?" "My name ain't John; my brother's name is John." "O yes, so it is; I was thinking your name was John." In the afternoon perhaps John would have occasion to go to

the store. "Well, Richard, how's your father to-day?" "My name ain't Richard; my brother's name is Richard." "O, so it is; I get your names mixed up." The next morning, when another brother entered the store, the same process would be repeated, varied, perhaps, by calling the boy by his father's name. An anecdote is told of his dealing with a couple of boys who, like most boys, liked imported fruit. A large load of goods had just been brought from Boston, and stood in the yard near the store. Several casks of raisins made part of this load, (cask raisins being pretty much the only kind used in those days, except by the very pink of the aristocracy,) and these boys were made acquainted with that — to them — tremendous fact. It was evening, and the shades of night had gathered just enough to reduce the hazard of a raid upon the contents of these casks to a point which the boys were willing to risk. Accordingly they mounted the wagon, and in due time got a look at the inside of these casks. It is not related whether the boys' trowsers (they did n't wear pantaloons in those times) were provided with the indispensable appendages to boys' trowsers — pockets. If so, they were ignored as wholly inadequate to meet the magnitude of the occasion. Tying a string around the bottom of each leg of each pair of trowsers, the boys proceeded to "load up." As boys' trowsers were not then cut "snug to the leg," there was

room to stow away a good deal of foreign fruit. In the mean time Mr. Ireson had been apprised that some unauthorized persons were unloading his wagon. The boys, not knowing that their proceedings had been reported, kept quietly at work. The proprietor went out in a quiet manner to look at them. After fully taking in the situation, he seemed to appreciate the enterprise of the boys, and was, possibly, struck with the ludicrousness of the scene. "Now, boys," said he, "if you've got as many raisins as you want, *you start!*" The boys did start, not needing a second suggestion; but not with that alacrity that would have been seen if they had been dressed more like a circus rider. They looked like some of the pictures seen in a comic almanac.

Mr. Ireson accumulated a large fortune, doing business at the same stand, as one of the firm, until the death of his partner in 1848. Mr. Ireson continued in business but a short time after. He died in 1873, aged seventy-four years.

But there were several other places where the teams that we saw halting at the old town pump might stop. The following shoe manufacturers then did business in Woodend: — John D. Attwill — known as Major — then did business on Orange street, now the northwest end of Fayette street, which then terminated at Village Square; Ebenezer Brown, on North street, now the northwest end of

Chestnut street, which then terminated at Essex street, James F. Lewis, also on North street, Nathan Mudge, on Fayette street, Rufus Parrott, on Essex street, William Parrott, on Fayette street. Besides these there were several who manufactured shoes earlier than 1830, and who gave up business about that date — some of them a little earlier and some a little later. Micajah Burrill was one of these. His place of business was on Essex street, in the house now occupied by J. Ruth. Jacob and John Ingalls also did business on Fayette street, now the corner of Parrott and Fayette streets. William F. Ingalls manufactured shoes on Orange street for several years, till near the time he took charge of the Union Store in 1829. Williams Ingalls manufactured near the corner of Chestnut — then North — street and Franklin Place; and Timothy Alley and Samuel Collins carried on business within a few rods of the same place on opposite sides of Chestnut street. Jesse L. Attwill also did business on Chestnut street. Daniel Silsbee also did business in the building in the rear of the house now owned by James Hill, by the side of the Village House; and Jonathan Watson manufactured in the store at the corner of Essex and Orange streets, opposite the west side of the Village House. Some of these bosses hired workmen from Marblehead, and possibly from other neighboring towns. Some of the teams, after leaving the town pump.

would call at some of the bosses' shops on an errand. There were very few express teams in those days; and their lack was, in part, supplied in a miscellaneous way by neighbors or friends who might have occasion to visit any of the several towns lying near their own places of residence. Accordingly one might hear, on entering one of these bosses' shops, a messenger from Marblehead, Salem or Beverly — more especially from Marblehead — salute the boss as follows: Mr. Attwill, Tom Gilley wants a half-dozen pair of bottom-linings; he says you did n't give him enough. He says he 'come' one sole short, too,— a six's." This errand being done, he would, perhaps, go to another shop with a similar errand. "Mr. Parrott, John Crafts wants another ball of thread; he says you did n't give him enough last time he was over." If the boss was a little facetious he might ask the messenger if that thread was strong enough for a kite-string or a "nipper" line, or if the workman could n't use some he had "left over." When a workman had more "stock" given out to him than was needed to make the lot of shoes, he was said to have so much "over," and it was thought by many that, by a sort of imprescriptible right, this stock that was "over" belonged to the "jour."

There seemed to be no intentional dishonesty in this, but a somewhat unaccountable obliquity of moral vision that obscured the distinction between

meum and *tuum*. In illustration of this, the following circumstance is told: A man in a neighboring town — and a very good sort of man, too — kept a "finding" store — that is, he kept shoemakers' tools of various kinds, including, also, shoe thread, and similar commodities. A friend calling in one day, observed that he had a large assortment of shoe thread of different colors, and inquired where he got such a variety. "Oh, I bought it of the boys." "But where did the boys get it?" "They had it '*over*.'"

There were, also, several grocery stores in Woodend at that time, where all the usual *refreshing* commodities of a liquid nature were kept. Many had no difficulty in finding these stores on the darkest nights; and there were no street lamps then, either. One of these stores was on Fayette street, next to the Village House, the building already mentioned as occupied at an earlier date by Daniel Silsbee as a shoe factory. The lower story was used for the grocery department, and the basement — or more properly the cellar, as but little of it was above ground, — was devoted to the sale of the several sorts of ardent spirits — as the stronger kinds were then generally called — and those that were not so *ardent*, such as wine, strong beer, cider, anise seed and snake root cordials. Lager beer was then unknown in this part of the country, and but little known in any part of the country, as the

German population was then quite small. The immigration from Germany, which reached such high figures between 1850 and 1860, had then scarcely begun. Ale was then hardly known in this section of the country, though at the present time it would take a boy the whole of a long vacation to count the number of barrels sold in a single year.

This was during Jackson's second administration. "Old Hickory," as he was called, when he was not familiarly styled "Old Jackson," found some very hearty supporters in these favorite resorts. When warmed up with a little old "Jamaica," or a glass or two of one of the popular brands of "New England," their patriotism rose to the level of any emergency. The President's removal of the deposits; his bank veto; his proclamation against nullification: and all the leading measures of his administration were endorsed in the most emphatic manner, if not in the choicest English. Jackson was very popular in Lynn at that time, as the town included Swampscott, which was democratic almost to a man. This was about the time (1833) that the President visited Lynn, on his tour through the Northern States. It was a great day for Lynn. It was not often that people had a chance to see a live President. Such a thing had happened but once since the days of Washington. Throngs of people assembled around the old Lynn Hotel, so well known in all the region round about. Woodend

sent its full share to swell the patriotic gathering. An incident relating to this memorable day occurred which illustrates, not only the juvenile patriotism that was awakened by the event, but also sheds a light upon the domestic side of life. A man in those days, with four or five children to provide for, was not generally able to furnish each with a full suit of "Sunday clothes," as they were usually called; and so a pair of boots, or a jacket, or some other part of a boy's wardrobe, was sometimes made to do miscellaneous duty among those members of the family whose size made such an arrangement practicable. The theory was, that such boots or jacket was made for some *one* of the family; but this theory was likely to be nullified by any domestic emergency that might arise. Accordingly one would hear — "Come, John, you 've got the boots on, go and get a couple of pails of water." This gave rise to the remark that the one who got up first in the morning got the boots. On the occasion referred to, the younger of two brothers of about the same age expected to wear a new jacket, fit to be worn in the presence of king or President. The morning came, and the elder of the two, getting the start, put on the new jacket, and in rather undignified haste, set off to pay his respects to the chief magistrate of the nation. The younger soon discovered his loss, and realized the extent of his disaster. With his tattered jacket in place of the

new one, with shiny buttons, which he had hoped to wear, he went bellowing through the streets, making known his loss in the vain hope of retrieving the fortunes of the day. In after times he used to relate this as among the bitterest experiences of his early years.

THE ORDER STORES OF WEST LYNN.

The Union and Mechanics' Stores did the chief part of the order business in the eastern section of the town. In West Lynn some of the order stores began business sixty, or more, years ago. Ezra Hitchings — known as Major — kept one of the first — if not the first — order stores in West Lynn. Mr. Hitchings began business about the first of the century, in the store where the post office was then kept, near the corner of Boston and North Federal streets, and for a quarter of a century was one of the attractive centers, where news was gathered, politics talked over, and all affairs, whether national or domestic, were discussed. In 1819 Henry A. Breed opened a grocery store nearly opposite the Common station. About three years after, he took, as partner, his brother, Daniel N. Breed. This firm continued until 1829, when their brother, Andrews Breed, was added to the firm. This was an order store through all this period. A few years after, this firm dissolved, and Daniel N. Breed con-

tinued the business. Mr. Breed did a very large business, and at this time his was the leading order store in West Lynn. This store was in the west end of the Lynn Hotel. Henry B. Newhall also did a large business at this time, his store ranking second, perhaps, in that section of the town. The firm of Chase & Huse did an extensive business in dry goods more than forty years ago. At an earlier day they kept the usual variety found in a country store, including groceries as well as dry goods. Like most of the stores of that period, it was an order store. Caleb Wiley, whose place of business was in Market Square, and others of less note, kept order stores in that section of the town.

But while orders were the chief medium of exchange through these years, it must not be supposed that they constituted the sole currency in use. During the period running from 1832 to 1836, inclusive, cash was paid exclusively by many manufacturers. For a few years previously business had been gradually improving. The country was being rapidly settled. Western emigration from New England had begun, and what was called the "Western fever" became very prevalent. Foreign immigration was just beginning to attract attention. But the West of that time was not the West of to-day. The West of those days was east of the Mississippi. Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois were almost a wilderness, or an unbroken prairie. Cincinnati, after-

wards the "queen city of the West," until eclipsed by her great rivals, Chicago and St. Louis, was, in 1820, a town of 9600 inhabitants. In 1830 she had nearly three times that number; and in 1840 her population had risen to more than 46,000. Columbus and St. Louis were rapidly growing towns. Chicago, a mere trading post in 1830, "in the midst of Indians," nearly doubled its population every four years.

In the latter part of 1829, and through the year 1830, money was abundant. William Sumner, in his History of the Currency, quotes an English authority as stating that "specie was then flowing to America from all parts of the world," and states that one of the journals of the day expressed the wish that some gulf might open and swallow up the over-abundance of silver. English investments in American securities began to take place about this time. The great canal enterprises of the country had also begun, and the earliest fruits of steam navigation already attracted public attention. Between the years 1830 and 1840 the great railroad interest, which has since reached such gigantic proportions, started, and sent a new life through all the channels of trade touched by its influence.

All of these causes operated more or less directly upon the business of Lynn. As early as 1829 the following manufacturers advertised to pay cash: Nathan D. Chase, James Pratt, Samuel Farrington,

F. S. & H. Newhall. Mr. Chase paid cash sometime prior to this date. From 1832 till the revulsion came that prostrated the business of the country at the close of 1836, comparatively few orders were given. Business was so driving during these years that bosses delivered the "stock" to the workmen, and came to carry back the shoes when made, bringing the money with them to pay the workmen on the spot; so that it was not unfrequently the case that workmen would not see the inside of their bosses' shops for months together.

Lynn had never seen such times before. Workmen, who for years had taken orders, now got cash. Some indescribable shoes were made at this period. Anybody could get work. Bosses bid on one another's workmen, and high prices and poor shoes were the order of the day. After the good times had run a spell, speculation began. New streets were opened, and more houses were built in these four or five years ending near the close of 1836 than had been erected since the Revolutionary period. Many of these were built for the workmen. A few of these workmen, by their industry and frugality, and superior smartness, were enabled to lay by a few hundred dollars. There were *only* a few such. A hundred dollars was a very large sum then, in the eyes of a laboring man, especially, and represented much more than now of many of the necessaries of life. Land especially, was exceed-

ingly cheap; or at least was sold for prices that now look trifling. The most eligible house lots were sold for prices ranging from fifty to one hundred dollars. In 1831 the lot situated at the southerly corner of Union and Exchange streets, containing about a quarter of an acre, and including most of the land lying between Exchange Block and the manufactory of Brown & Brother, was offered for eighty dollars, but found no purchaser. It must not be inferred, however, that this lot of land was, at that time, one of the most eligible in town. Far otherwise. It was the corner of a square, on three sides of which no business establishment then stood, and on the fourth side only a single one, occupied by Jonathan Buffum as a paint shop, and now standing where it then stood, on Union street, near Washington street, and still used — in part — for the same purpose by John P. Russell.

When a workman got fifty dollars ahead he could easily secure a lot of land. Then the manufacturer would often assist him in getting a house, by advancing money — secured by mortgage generally — to be paid as the earnings of the future enabled the workman to lay by a margin for this purpose. Many houses were built in this way at that time; and the experiences of many in getting a home for themselves and their children would furnish one of the most interesting chapters in our local history. To accomplish this it was often necessary to submit

to great deprivation. The expense of maintaining a family — often a large family — took much the larger part of the earnings, and the practice of the most rigid economy left but a small amount to be applied to the payment of the debt, and the accruing interest. This was often the struggle and burden of a lifetime. If sickness came, that increased expenses; or hard times that reduced the wages were experienced, nothing remained to meet the inevitable interest, and the growing debt often ended in foreclosure, and the ultimate loss of the little gained by years of toil. If, on the other hand, things went well, it was generally the work of a whole life to secure a home they could call their own; while, more frequently, they left a mortgage to be transmitted to their children.

THE OLD TOWN HALL.

The reader whose memory goes back twenty years, and even less, in matters pertaining to Lynn, well remembers the old Town Hall as it stood on South Common street, at the head of what is now Blossom street — then only a court ending at the yard in the rear of the old hall. It was not an imposing structure, though when it was built, in 1814, it was doubtless regarded with pride by the architect who planned it, as well as by the citizens who furnished the money for its construction. It was so many times larger than any of the shoemakers' shops that were seen in all the streets of the town at that time, and so much larger than any other building, public or private, with very few exceptions, that it was, without doubt, pointed to by our fathers as a structure reflecting credit upon the taste and public spirit of our ancient town. Its dimensions were about one hundred feet in length, and sixty feet in width. When it was built it stood on the Common, nearly opposite Hanover street, its front facing the east end of the Common. A

considerable part of the lower story was taken up with a wide passage way, or hall, running its entire length, and having wide doors at either end; and through this passage the military, on "training days," marched, coming out at the west end near the old Gun House, which then stood on the Common — preparatory to receiving the final order to "break ranks," when the patriotic service of the day was over. On the right of this passage were rooms used at different times as the armories of some of the military companies, and sometimes for other purposes connected with the public service. On the left was, first, a room used for general purposes, and next, the Selectmen's room, which was also the office of the Town Clerk and Collector of Taxes. The hall occupied the entire second story. This was reached by a flight of stairs on either side leading from the front door. At the rear end was a low platform raised two short steps above the floor. This platform covered a space some fifteen feet square, surrounded by a railing. In the front, about three feet from the railing, was a "barricade," or fence, making a passage way, through which voters passed to deposit their ballots in a box which was placed midway, and just behind the front railing. Voters also passed through this passage when the important parliamentary proceeding of "polling the house" was resorted to. The space enclosed by this railing was popularly called the "calf-pen."

The writer has not been able to trace out the origin of this name. Whether its looks, or its size, or the use to which it was put, were suggestive of such an agricultural inclosure is not known. On this point history is silent, and the reader is left in the unfettered exercise of his opinion to settle the question as he pleases.

TOWN MEETING IN THE OLD TOWN HALL.

The town meeting of the olden time was a great event. The "March meeting," when the expenditures for the ensuing year were determined, and all questions relating to the amount to be expended by each department were discussed and settled; and the fall election, when all questions of state and national importance were to be acted upon by the independent voters of the town, had a social and domestic significance, as well as a public and political meaning. Here were gathered twice a year, not only friends and near neighbors confined within the narrow limits of a ward, as now, under our city charter's regulation, but relatives and acquaintances, coming all the way from Nahant, on the south, to the boundaries of Marblehead, Salem and Danvers, on the north, and from Swampscott, on the east, to the lines that separated our territory from Saugus and Lynnfield, on the west. It was a day when old friendships were renewed; when

inquiries after health and absent friends were made; and when questions about crops, business, politics, and everything pertaining to personal welfare and the public good, were freely asked and answered. And so couples here and there were scattered round the hall, and in pleasant weather, about the door, asking all sorts of questions, and discussing every topic, public and private, from Jackson's bank veto, and the question whether it was better to elect old —— Overseer of the Poor for another year, down to the scarcely less momentous questions of a more private nature — whether old —— "knocked off" finding paste-flour because it was so high, and whether he'll make the plan work; and whether it was best to "stand a cut" of two cents a pair which the boss made because a few lots run from "twos to sixes," instead of from "threes to sevens."

On important election days, when some great crisis arose in national, state or town affairs, the old hall was crowded from the hour the doors were opened until the polls were closed. During the anti-masonic controversy Lynn shared the general excitement. State and town elections turned upon this question, and it came well nigh entering as an element in the presidential contest of 1832. A national convention of anti-masons was held in 1831, and William Wirt was nominated as their presidential candidate. He carried one state — Vermont giving him her seven electoral votes. The "antis"

were largely in the ascendency here, and it was thought as important that the town officers should be of the right stripe as at any time since Federalists and Republicans divided the nation into parties. Now and then a fierce "anti" and zealous brother of the ancient order would meet face to face on election day. Then remarks would be indulged in too personal to be warranted by parliamentary law; and sometimes an intimation would be thrown out by one party that, at some previous period in the life of the other, somebody found a difficulty in collecting a little bill when it became due, and did n't succeed much better at any time thereafter. Then a retort would be hurled back having a physiological bearing, to the effect that the other's head was altogether too red to take an impartial view of the matter, and if he, the aforesaid with red hair, was not shielded by considerations of old age, and other circumstances, he would settle the case then and there, without the aid of referees. Boys of all sizes would gather round — some of them pretty large — to hear these "poppets," as they were called, and to get their vocabulary enlarged with several phrases not found in any volume of "elegant extracts."

When the election promised to be at all close, the choice of moderator was the result of an exciting contest. Then the one who yelled the loudest, or stood nearest the clerk — who put the motion —

would get the name of his favorite candidate before the meeting. Then the clerk would declare that the name of Benjamin Mudge, or some one of a half dozen who every now and then held the helm — not exactly of state, but of town meeting — would be the nominee. And no ordinary hand, either, was needed to navigate in those stormy waters where often there was a heavy sea running, and occasionally a "short chop" caused by a sudden change of wind. Then the clerk would put the vote: "As many as are in favor of Benjamin Mudge serving as Moderator of this meeting will manifest it by saying *aye*." Instantly a yell arose, more or less vociferous, according to the strength of the political gale then blowing. This was often decisive enough to settle the matter without the formality of calling the negative; and when the *nays* were called, and but a small show was made, a shout of laughter made the old hall echo — a shout that was generally repeated with greater emphasis when some wag made a comment more significant than parliamentary. But if the vote was more evenly divided, and the clerk declared a choice, then a half-dozen would doubt the vote, and the clerk would call for a show of hands until counted. This was generally an uncertain and unsatisfactory job; and unless the majority was very clear it would be decided to "poll the house." Then the clerk would order that those in favor of

the motion should pass through the opening in front of the railing that they might be counted. This would sometimes be an amusing proceeding. Young men who had just become invested with the rights of citizenship would march through as though the weight of empires rested on their shoulders. This would be the opportunity for a few wags who occupied a commanding position on some of the high seats on either side of the hall to indulge in comments, miscellaneous in their character, and comprehensive in their range, upon the various classes of citizens as they discharged the high prerogative of freemen. These observations included remarks upon dress, size and general appearance of the individual, as well as matters of detail, such as length of the nose, color of the hair, shape of the head, or any other peculiarity of person or wardrobe. Here was an excellent opportunity to study human nature and the fashions at the same time, and the wags improved it. The outskirts of the town were then, much more than now, rural districts, and some of the fashions were unique as well as antique. Some of them dated back to the first part of the century, and some of them would be a compound of late and earlier styles.

At this stage of the meeting, perhaps, the "unterrified" from Swampscott had not arrived; but before the "yeas" had all passed through, the martial drum and the piercing fife announced the com-

ing of the sturdy fishermen hosts that never marched except to victory. Then a rush of boys — some of them pretty well grown up — would pour out at the door and down over the stairs to meet the "old guard." Soon the heavy tread of fishing boots would be heard — there were no rubber boots then; and probably not a pair of French boots was seen in the whole lot — and the invincible army whose presence was a presage of victory, marched into the hall with "Cap'n Natty" at its head. Ney, as he led the Imperial Guard, might have had more horses shot under him, and his face more blackened with powder, but he never marched with a prouder step when his great captain gave the destinies of Europe into his hands on the field of Waterloo, than "Captain Natty," as he led the one hundred, more or less, to the bloodless victories that never ended in a Waterloo, or a Peterloo; for his veterans never blenched before any danger on the land or on the sea — especially on the sea. Then the cry would go up — not exactly the cry of Winkelried's "Make way for Liberty!" — but one animated by the same spirit. "Make way for Swampscott." Then they would march in solid phalanx — as solid as practicable — through the passage in front of the "calf-pen," and the destinies of the day were sealed. It was almost ridiculous after this for the "nays" to attempt to make a show; but they always did; and when the clerk announced

the result, showing that the *ayes* had it by an overwhelming majority — though he did n't put it in that form — a shout would go up, mingled with sundry comments more emphatic than parliamentary. But, perhaps, before this question was settled, some zealous leader of the opposition, whether Mason or Whig, would demand to know whether this military style was not an infringement upon the sacredness of the ballot? He would like to know whether citizens were to be overawed in the discharge of their solemn public duties by an imposing display of numbers, and the exciting strains of martial music? These questions were usually regarded as too heavy for the clerk, and the occasion, and as the questioner generally wanted to know too much, the answers he got were about as satisfactory as those given by young Barnacle at the "Circumlocution Office." But they were more miscellaneous. From twenty to five hundred would answer at once. As so many could not judicially consider the matter at the same time, the replies were not strictly forensic and argumentative in their character. "O, you go home!" "Stop your clack!" "What are you going to do about it?" were a few of the questions, so rapidly put that no reporter could note them down, and which it would have taken several days to answer. Besides these, several side questions would be asked, by one another in the crowd, such as "What 's that distressing Whig talking

about ?" and others more personal and less complimentary.

In due time the decision was officially announced that somebody had been chosen Moderator. Then the regular day's work of voting for the several candidates who were to fill state, county, or town offices — or national, if any such were to be elected — began. A good many episodes occurred to vary the ordinary events of the day, especially if the election was at all exciting. A good many teams would be needed to bring voters from distant parts of the town, as well as the aged or feeble who lived near. Every now and then a team would drive up to the door of the Town House, the horse white with lather, and the wagon, carriage, chaise — "the one horse shay," which Holmes has immortalized, was then much in use — or whatever was the vehicle attached, full, and sometimes more than full, of free and independent electors, ready to sacrifice one day, at least, on the altar of their country, and, in an emergency, two or three. Each arrival would be the occasion for some remark, joke, or "guffaw," as the political complexion of the voters in the several teams seemed to foreshadow the final issue of the contest. Now and then some "Loco," willing to extend his usefulness, would intimate to a faithful ally that Old J.'s team was outside — naming some fiery Whig — and inquire how it would do to get it and go after

some Democratic voters. If the suggestion met with a favorable response, Old J.'s team would be used for the illegitimate purpose of bringing "Loco" voters to swell a Democratic victory. Perhaps soon after some zealous Whig would step up to Mr. J. with the inquiry, "Can I have your team to go after Mr. So-and-so?" "Oh, yes; you 'll find it right out there in the shed." As Old J.'s team was by this time somewhere in Woodend, or somewhere else more or less distant, it was, by a generally admitted principle in physics, *not* found in the shed. The case would be reported to Old J. The demonstration that followed varied according to the circumstances. It was not generally concluded that the horse had run off. The inquiry would more likely be — "What —— (adjective) Locofoco has stole my team?" This would be the signal for the few Democrats who were in the secret to break out into a roar of laughter; and for months after, in certain shoemakers' shops, an explosion of "guffaws" would take place whenever anybody inquired how many "Loco" voters Dick got with Old J.'s team. A good deal of amusement was got out of this business of rallying voters. A few years after the time to which this history is now referring, Robert Rantoul was in the field to receive some political honor, if the people so willed it. An active young Democrat, willing to aid the candidate in reaching the goal of his ambition, volunteered his services as

one of the rallying committee. Putting his head inside the door of a shoemaker's shop, he called out — "Any Rantoul voters here?" There was a simultaneous movement within, and one of the crew, armed with a "skiver," started for the door. The young Democrat did not stop to inquire whether he was to be halved and quartered, or whether he was simply wanted to turn the grindstone for the man with the skiver, but made the best use of his flexible limbs, and reached his team in safety. *He had stumbled upon a Whig shop.*

As the word "Locofoco," as a party name, came into use about this time it is, perhaps, significant enough to warrant the following explanation, given by Webster in his quarto dictionary, of the origin of the word as thus applied:

"*Locofoco* — According to some etymologists from the Latin *loco foci*, instead of fire; according to Bartlett, it was called so from a self-lighting cigar, with a match composition at the end, invented in 1834, by John Marck, in New York, and called by him *locofoco cigar*, a word coined in imitation of the word *locomotive*, which, by the vulgar, was supposed to mean self-moving. The name was applied, in 1834, to the extreme portion of the Democratic party, because, at a meeting in Tammany Hall, New York, in which there was great diversity of sentiment, the chairman left his seat, and the lights were extinguished, with a view to dissolve the meeting; when those in favor of extreme measures produced locofoco

matches, rekindled the lights, continued the meeting, and accomplished their object."

There is always a class in every community whose political color is not brought out until election morning. This class existed fifty years ago as well as now, and to secure their suffrages, to turn the scale in doubtful contests, was an art studied in those days as well as at present. Some of these cases required a good deal of strategy, and nobody could tell how they would come out until the vote was safely deposited in the ballot box. The plots of one party would be overthrown by the counter plots of the other, and many a deep laid plan was countermined, and blown into the air, just as victory was within sight. It was necessary to get possession of some of these voters at the critical time or the whole game would be lost. This was especially the case with those who exhilarated their spirits with any of the artificial drinks then in common use. Such were supplied with a liberal allowance of "black-strap" and New England rum, and stowed away in a safe place — generally in the shop chamber — until the time when they were to be taken to the polls. If the victim was a Whig, or had proclivities that way when in his normal condition, his friends would, perhaps, capture him before the crisis was reached, and so snatch victory from the very jaws of defeat. In that case, all the

"black-strap" and New England rum went for nothing. Then the other party would return the joke whenever the chance came. There was a set of old codgers in almost every neighborhood who furnished the material for this political guerrilla warfare, though it is not to be supposed there were many such. Whichever party got at them first, and held out the needful inducement, (the inducement was generally in a liquid form, and was not often milk and water,) and — more important than all — kept them under the necessary guard, so as to be sure of them at the nick of time, would so far swell the vote for their favorite candidate. Sometimes inducements of other kinds were held out, and failed from causes so exceptional that even the wisdom of a politician could not foresee and provide against them — as in the following case: Uncle W. was getting into the "sere and yellow leaf," and was at this time about seventy-three years of age. His ideas of chronology were not always clear, even those concerning his own age, as the sequel shows. His proclivities were decidedly Whig, or at least *had been* when the cog-wheels of his mental machinery were less broken than now; but he lived in a Democratic neighborhood, and had many friends and acquaintances among the adherents of Jackson and Van Buren. A zealous young Democrat — who, if called Simon, would not answer to the name — on good terms with Uncle

W., laid a deep plan to secure his vote at the next election, then a few months ahead. Simon was somewhat expert at hair-cutting, and could, upon occasion, shave a customer, though his regular business was shoemaking. It was accordingly arranged that he should keep Uncle W.'s hair and beard in good trim, and so pave the way to make a good Democrat of him by the time election day came round. The day came round, of course, and Uncle W. came, too, sufficiently guarded to provide against all reasonable contingencies. But some wags had got wind of the affair, and understanding the situation generally, as well as Uncle W.'s unreliability, and uncertain movements in particular, were on hand ready to turn things to the best account. Uncle W., duly provided with the right ballot, was led up to the box. "I challenge that man's vote," shouted one of the wags. "On what ground?" asked the Moderator. "He has not paid his poll tax." "Mr. W.," inquired the Moderator, "have you paid a poll tax within two years?" Uncle W. admitted that he had not added that amount to the town treasury. "He is seventy-three years of age," said one of Uncle W.'s guard, "and is entitled to the exemption of his poll tax which the law allows to citizens over seventy." "What is your age, Mr. W.?" asked the Moderator. "If my memory *sarves* me," said Uncle W., "I 'm *a leetle risin' sixty-seven!*" As the Moder-

ator could n't go behind this statement, Uncle W., and the Democratic party, lost a vote. But the sorest loss came to Simon, who saw the fabric that he had slowly reared by his industry, and his tonsorial art, sink down and go out of sight just as the cap-sheaf was to be placed upon it. But all that was lost by Uncle W., and the Democratic party, and Simon, put together, was more than made up by the fun the wags got out of it. Simon is occasionally reminded, even at this late day, of his hair-cutting enterprise with Uncle W. in behalf of popular government.

John E. was well-known as a stanch Democrat, ready, with both hands, to push on the party column to victory, and willing to avail himself of any outside aid, such as a horse and carriage might furnish. Politely stepping up to Mr. B., then a candidate for senatorial honors on the Whig side, John blandly informed the candidate that he knew two voters who, he thought, could be secured if they should be sent for, and asked Mr. B. if he had any objection to having his carriage — which stood near — used for this purpose. "Not in the least," said Mr. B., in the most affable manner, doubtless flattered with what seemed to him the compliment of having enlisted the aid of a political opponent in his behalf. John brought two good Democrats, and it was said a good many more, whose united votes did not swell Mr. B.'s majority.

The March meeting was often of more interest than any other of the year. This is easily explained. The interests involved in national and state elections are more remote, and do not touch the individual at so many points as in the election of town or municipal officers. Whatever is practical in our theory of government is made so, in a great degree, by the execution of those local laws which determine the great question of taxation, and the objects to which public money shall be applied. What our schools shall be, how the poor in our midst shall be provided for, how our property shall best be protected against fire, whether our roads shall be good or bad, what the public regulations shall be for the safety of person and property, are questions of such interest that the simplest minds can understand their direct bearing, even if they do not see the remote consequences that often come from public measures. For these reasons the March meeting had an interest that called together a crowd in the old Town Hall not often seen at other town meetings. This was especially the case when some unusual appropriation might be looked for, such as a new engine, or a new school-house, or the purchase of any property by the town, or any expenditure whatever that involved an increase in the appropriation. Accordingly, when that item of business — the amount of appropriation — came before the meeting, all ears were open to hear the motion —

"I move you, Mr. Moderator, that the appropriation for the ensuing year be —— thousand dollars." If this blank was filled with what was thought to be about the right sum, it was put to vote without any attempt at amendment; but this was not generally the case. If the man who made the motion had a hobby, or was suspected of having one, the amount would be considered too large. Then some one would move that the amount be fixed at a lower sum. Then, possibly, a debate would arise whether the question should be first taken on the original motion, according to the common practice of taking the question on the largest sums first, or whether the vote on the amendment should be first taken, in conformity to the rule giving precedence to an amendment. But the niceties of parliamentary law were not then much dwelt upon. Cushing's Manual had not then made its appearance, neither had the famous Silsbee Street Debating Society set up its beacon light of instruction, illuminating the whole circle of human knowledge, and making clearer the boundary of public duty and the line of individual rights. Jefferson's Manual was the great authority npon parliamentary law, but probably not six copies could then be found within the limits of the town. And so not much time was spent in wrangling over points of order. Business was disposed of in an off-hand manner, and when a blunder was made that might render the town liable for damages, or

any illegal action was taken, the legislature could set everything all right by legalizing the proceedings, and so straighten whatever was crooked in the doings of the sovereign people in town meeting assembled.

But the amount of the appropriation was finally fixed to the satisfaction of most, and to the dissatisfaction of many, as a matter of course. But whatever the sum, whether large or small, it was likely to be overrun more or less. We have improved very much in this respect of late years. Our fathers could make the expenses overrun the appropriation a few hundred dollars, but we can overlap several thousands without making any special effort. But there were some in those days, as now, who did n't believe in this method of doing business. Capt. D. was one. "What is the use," said he, "of appropriating a certain amount every year, and then spending more every time? Why not have enough to go round? I move, Mr. Moderator, that the appropriation be $1,000,000." As this figure was half the valuation of the town — more or less — at that time, Capt. D. seemed to think that the sum was ample.

The crowd present on many of these election days was the occasion, oftentimes, of noisy demonstrations. A large per cent. of boys and youngsters were usually on hand, ready to turn any incident to the best account, and enliven the scene with

jokes, witticisms, and, if temptation seemed to offer, more forcible exhibitions of pleasantry and youthful independence. The constable, armed with the majesty of the law, which seemed to be embodied in the emblem of authority — the baton — he wielded, was often the center of attraction in more senses than one. Not only were all eyes and ears turned toward him as the most conspicuous figure of the group, but he often felt the weight and pressure of more immediate personal attentions than were convenient for him to receive while in the discharge of his official duties. He would often find himself in the midst of a surging mass that swayed to and fro on the floor of the hall. Then rearing his baton aloft when the crowd seemed to be honoring him with more than usual attentions, he would intimate that any undue familiarity would be regarded as about the same thing as an assault upon the Commonwealth. Now would be seen a simultaneous movement that seemed directed by a common impulse to a certain definite object — that object being to see how few times the conspicuous figure holding the baton of authority could touch his feet to the floor on his way from the spot where he then stood to the opposite side of the hall. This movement was as irresistible as the tides of the sea. Frantically struggling to resist the current that bore him onward, and looking very red in the face, his ef-

forts to keep his equilibrium resembled the movement known among boys when bathing as "treading water." He would finally land somewhere, and turning fiercely round would look unutterable things, as though about to vindicate the insulted majesty of the law on the spot. Then somebody would break into a "guffaw," in which the crowd joined. Finally some wag would make a remark that would be too much even for the gravity of the constable. The severity of his countenance would relax, and he would join in the general laughter, after having first preserved his official dignity by rapping a boy on the head. It was an amusing study to see how gracefully and timely he would yield to the pressure of opposing forces as the sovereign people, taking an enlarged view of their palladium on the day when called upon to exercise the highest prerogative of freemen, would assert their right of *eminent domain*.

While the crowd was surging to and fro, various episodes would occur that would not have a direct bearing upon the voting that was going on. It was not safe for a man to be in the midst of this crowd with a white hat on — or rather the hat was not safe — especially if it was one of unusual dimensions, or of an ancient pattern. On the appearance of such a hat, at such a time, some one might be seen reaching a long arm over the shoulders of

two or three in front, and by a well-directed blow with the palm of the hand drive the white hat aforesaid down over the eyes of the wearer. The suddenness with which such a one would look round, and the astonishment depicted on his countenance — after he had got his hat back far enough so you could see his countenance — would not be regarded with indifference by the spectators, but would rather suggest a comparison between the collapsed beaver and an accordeon.

Now and then a candy boy would make an inquiry whether some one did n't want to buy a stick of candy. This was the genuine home-made molasses candy, and the sales of this never-failing adjunct of town meeting were looked forward to, and calculated upon, for many days in advance. Many ate molasses candy on town meeting day who probably never ate it on any other day of the year. Early in the morning some of these "merchant princes" in this traffic would be seen wending their way along with tin pans full of candy packed into each other, musing, doubtless, on the prospective profits of the day. They would be likely to be seen again along towards night seated in a retired spot with a pile of coppers — not nickel — in one of the tin pans, and engaged in a deep mathematical calculation whether these profits had been realized. A few small boys might have been

seen looking on astounded at this display of riches, who imagined they had that day seen treasures that far outshone the "wealth of Ormus or of Ind." Some of our thrifty citizens, no doubt, laid the foundations of their fortunes selling candy on these election days.

THE PANIC OF 1837.

The business revulsion of 1837 was so marked in some of its features that it stands out as an epoch in our commercial and financial history. After the great depression in 1825, trade gradually revived, and from the year 1830 to the fall of 1836, the country saw a period of feverish excitement, when rash speculations of every kind were carried on from one end of the land to the other. Western emigration had just then taken possession of the people, and thousands turned their backs to New England, and journeyed toward the setting sun. They stopped, however, some ways short of this, not even thinking of crossing the Rocky Mountains, and generally halting before they reached the confines of the Mississippi. The great States of the West—Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri—were, even then, being settled at a rapid rate, and chiefly by young men from the East. The tide of foreign immigration had just begun to flow, and the next twenty-five years witnessed a spectacle of growth and development that was the marvel of

modern civilization. Ohio was then the Queen State of the West. In a little more than a quarter of a century she had grown from a wilderness to the first rank among agricultural States. In 1840 she had risen to the first place in the production of wheat, Pennsylvania standing next. She stood fourth in the production of Indian corn, Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee standing before her. In the value of live stock and wool she was exceeded only by one or two States. In 1850 she took the lead in the production of Indian corn. What are now the great agricultural States of the West — Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, Michigan, and Wisconsin — had, for the most part, but just begun to send their products to market, and the last two were but little else than a wilderness in the speculative period that culminated in the panic of 1837.

Those States whose population now numbers some 10,500,000 had then scarcely reached 900,000, or about one-twelfth. The difficulty and cost of transportation cut off the bulky products of the West from distant markets. But the West of that day was a different region from the West of to-day. In 1830 Illinois had, in round numbers, 476,000; Indiana, 340,000; Missouri, 140,000; Michigan, 32,000. Wisconsin contained only a few thousand, scattered through the wilderness. She contained 31,000 in 1840. In 1830 Chicago was a mere trading post, and the wigwams of the Indians were

just beginning to disappear. In 1840 it contained less than 5000 inhabitants. St. Louis, in 1830, contained less than 7000. Cincinnati, the Queen city of the West at that time, contained less than 25,000, and it nearly doubled its population in the next ten years. For twenty-five years she was the greatest pork market in the country. Detroit, in 1830, had but 2200 inhabitants. It more than quadrupled its population in the next ten years. Even Columbus was then a small town whose population did not reach 6000 till 1840. In the next ten years it trebled that number. New Orleans was one of the great cities of the Union in 1830, having a population of 46,000, which increased to 102,000 in 1840, or nearly two and a half times in a single decade. Baltimore was then one of the chief flour markets of the country; St. Louis, Haxall, Michigan, and other leading brands of flour were then unknown. Baltimore and Howard Street flour then took the lead. Western flour was just beginning to find a market in the East, but had not gained a very high reputation.

The decade between 1830 and 1840 was the period when fortunes were made and lost in raising and speculating in cotton. Machinery, and a general development of manufacturing industry, had given an extraordinary impetus to its cultivation, and its price during the years 1833, 1834, and 1835, averaged nearly fourteen cents a pound. Southern

cities grew up as if by magic, and speculation in real estate promised great wealth. The real estate of Mobile was assessed $4,000,000 in 1834; $6,000,000 in 1835; $18,000,000 in 1836; $27,000,000 in 1837. In 1838 it collapsed to $7,000,000, and ten years afterwards — 1848 — it was assessed just under *nine millions*. This real estate mania showed itself in the sales of public lands. In 1833 about $4,000,000 worth was sold. In 1834 nearly $5,000,000. In 1835, $14,700,000. In 1836, $24,800,000. In 1838 the sales had fallen to $3,000,000.

Crazy speculation showed itself in every direction. There was Eastern land speculation and Western land speculation. A good deal of valuable time was wasted in making diagrams of hypothetical cities. Eligible corner lots were marked out, showing the exact site — as near as might be — of future hotels, warehouses, factories, and all the other adjuncts that attest the march of civilization — and this, too, in the forests of Maine that had been a wilderness ever since the crust of the earth had been clothed with verdure; a region which remained a wilderness fifty years after, and which promises to be a wilderness for a time outrunning the horoscope of man. Western land speculation was nearly as silly as this. In this case, however, subsequent developments marking that marvelous growth of our Western empire, gave promise that within fifty or a hundred years the woodman's ax

might be heard felling trees upon the site of these paper cities.

The bank system of this period was probably one of the most vicious of modern times, if not, indeed, of any time. The overthrow of the United States Bank, in 1836, and the collapse of the Pennsylvania Bank, designed to take the place of the old institution which had run since Washington's administration — a period of forty years — gave rise to the "pet bank" system. Under this system each State created as many of these mills for making paper money as the supposed wants of business seemed to demand; and the terms by which this money was designated were more expressive than euphonious. It was called "red back" in Texas, and "wild cat" in Mississippi. Its value was more miscellaneous, if possible, than its appearance. It was worth one-third or two-thirds the value expressed on its face, according to circumstances of time and place. But the functions of these "fiscal agents" were designed to operate, for the most part, in the home market; and if any of them strayed beyond the State that was responsible for their existence, they found their way into an old scrap-book, or something else, where they were looked at occasionally as a financial curiosity. The paper money of the Eastern and Middle States generally passed current at par within the States where it was issued; but it was looked upon with suspi-

cion when it strayed far from home, and was often subject to a discount sufficient to embarrass business, and entail a loss upon the receivers. The old shoemakers of Lynn now living will well remember when the boss gave them a New York bill; and how it was scanned, and the probable discount calculated. They will also remember the healthy exercise they took in running round the neighborhood to find some one who, having dealings in the Empire State, would take it off their hands without a discount. When the government became wise enough to establish a national currency, all those eleventh-century methods were put an end to; and equality of value, whatever that value might be, was maintained from one end of the country to the other.

During these years of business activity Lynn did its full share. There were probably more poor shoes made at this period than were ever made in our city before or since in the same length of time. The "stock," for the most part, was better than the workmanship, and the soles were generally better than the uppers. The great defect was a lack of system, which ignored all the laws of adaptation. Firm, stout soles were joined to uppers that were evidently got up with no reference to wear; and worse than this, if both were equally good — as was sometimes the case — they were often spoiled in making up. As an illustration of this, thousands

of pairs of boots cut from stout grained leather upper stock, and having soles of the best quality, were spoiled by the miserable expedient of using *paper stiffenings*. When it is understood that this paper was not the stout, compact leather-board of the present day, but a tender straw-paper that a drop of water would penetrate through and through, no comment is needed to demonstrate the utter worthlessness of the article when it was ready for the foot of the wearer. Nor was this the only unscientific and wasteful arrangement. Shoes were sewed in such a manner that they dropped to pieces long before they were half worn out; and when the sewing was good the labor was wasted by the senseless practice of "trimming the uppers close to the stitch" — a practice that made it impossible to wear a pair of these shoes a second time — thus causing a waste that could be reckoned by tens of thousands of dollars, if not by millions.

The break-down in business, which came in the winter of 1836–7, was more complete and widespread than any the country had ever known. Numerous causes conspired to intensify its severity. Not the least of these was the short crop of nearly all the great staples in 1836. There was frost every month in that year. The extreme cold, accompanied with excessive droughts in some parts of the country, lessened the amount of production by more, probably, than $100,000,000. We had

been running in debt at a fearful rate, both at home and abroad. In six years ending January, 1837, we had imported merchandise to the amount of $134,000,000 more than the value of our exports. $52,000,000 of this was in the single year 1836. The exports from Great Britain alone to this country rose from $7,500,000 in 1833 to about $42,500,000 in 1836 and fell the next year to about $4,500,000. Our vast export of cotton — the production of which increased 150 per cent. during the decade ending 1840 — went but a little way to balance our foreign indebtedness. Besides this, we had imported $34,000,000 in specie. The impetus given to trade by the building of the Erie Canal turned speculation in this direction, and the mania to acquire land on the borders of the lakes outrun all common sense. In 1835 this canal was enlarged, and this enlargement did not lessen the speculative delusion. The fact that there were millions of acres more than could possibly be utilized within a century under any possible conditions of wealth and numbers, did not prevent men from investing their money in land which gave no more promise of a reasonable return on their investment than the same amount of territory in the moon. Immense fortunes were made, and the nation, States, corporations, municipalities, and individuals were piling up wealth in all directions — *on paper*. But after making full allowance for this fictitious increase, the *real* additions to the nation's wealth

were very great. Evidences of this were seen on every hand. More land was brought under cultivation, more iron produced, more coal mined, and more manufactured goods of every kind produced. As an illustration of this, the coal mined in 1830 was 200,000 tons. In 1837 it was more than 1,000,000. The nation was getting rich, but not so fast as appearances indicated. The mistake comes from confounding transfers with increase. A man may invest $10,000 in land, and if he adds nothing to the productive capacity of that land, *marking the price up ten per cent.* will not enrich him nor the community.

The impulse given to trade soon after 1830 changed the condition of Lynn during the next six years more rapidly and more essentially than at any previous period in her history. This showed itself at every turn. The number of buildings erected during these years was probably greater than the whole number built from the first settlement of the town two hundred years before. The number of new streets opened between 1830 and 1840 was nearly equal to the whole number previously existing. There were sixty streets in the town in 1831. In 1840 there were one hundred and three, and nearly all of the new ones were opened during the first six years of this period.

When the panic came the foundations of business seemed to be taken away. In November, 1836,

the Agricultural Bank, of Ireland, and the Northern and Central Bank, of Manchester, England, became involved in difficulties, and called upon the Bank of England for aid. Aid was given on condition that they wind up their affairs. Next came the tidings of the unsound condition of the three great English houses, Wilkes, Wilde, and Wiggins — known as the "three W.'s" These houses did an extensive business with this country, giving large credits; and the shock was felt from one end of the land to the other. Then came a series of business explosions that kept the commercial world in a high fever of excitement for months. The first inquiry men made, as they met each morning, was — "Who has failed now?"

Shoe houses in all the great cities of the Union, and especially in the South, "went up" one after another in rapid succession, and Lynn held its breath in suspense. The indebtedness of these houses to the chief shoe town in the country was larger than ever before. Long credits were then the order of the day. The planters of the South usually had their crops mortgaged a year ahead. The crop of 1836 was probably the lightest — taking into account the area planted — gathered since 1816. The deficiency of the cotton crop was reckoned by millions. The planter had nothing to pay the merchant, the merchant had nothing to pay the manufacturer. The recoil upon Lynn was tremen-

dous and overwhelming. The per cent. of loss was enormous. All but six or eight of the leading manufacturers of the town failed. A prominent citizen recently informed the writer that he walked through the business portion of Lynn, from east to west, and found but one cutter at work. Then came such times as the shoemakers never saw before. Each "jour," as he carried in his "lot," got the "sack" or a "cut-down" that withered his ambition. It is, perhaps, well enough to explain to the uninitiated that the "sack" meant the loss of a job, or "seat of work," as it was often called. The comments that were made in the several shoemakers' shops at that time were numerous, suggestive, and highly instructive. "What did Mike say, Joe?" "Said he did n't want any more. Said he might have some 'cacks' bye-and-bye, four cents a pair, orders on 'Union.'" "Well, I do n't know what I shall do this winter. I've got ten bushels of potatoes, and a pig in the sty. I shall have to go it on pork and potatoes." "I expect to get the 'sack,' Jim, when I carry in this lot. Perhaps I can get some 'scuffs.' I can earn thirty cents a day on them." The old shoemakers will understand what "scuffs" mean without turning to the dictionary. Webster will give him no light on this point. The "scuff" was simply a vamp of russet sheepskin sewed to a sole shaped to a last. The wearer could put his foot in as far as the instep,

and so "scuff" round the house when his ambition did n't rise high enough to make the needed exertion to put on a decent pair of slippers. When an old shoemaker had got down to making "scuffs" his career as an artist was about ended.

It may as well be mentioned here as anywhere that some of the conditions existing in Lynn at that time broke the force of the overturn in business that followed the panic of '37. Lynn had not then outgrown its agricultural character. One of her newspapers, some fifty years ago, boasted that more hogs were raised in town than in any place in the vicinity. Whether this was true or not, every well-to-do shoemaker had his garden, and a pig-sty somewhere on the premises. This gave him pork and potatoes; and if he could eke out this supply with a few groceries and a little flour, he could bid defiance to financial tempests, and if he had a tolerably tight house to live in, he did n't care much for any other kind of a storm. In winter he could go clamming and eeling when the weather permitted, and if he had two or three cords of wood, split and piled up in the shed, he considered himself in easy circumstances. (Coal was then very little used in Lynn.) When the spring opened the horizon of his hopes expanded. Less clothing and fuel were needed. The clam-banks discounted more readily; haddock could be got at Swampscott so cheap that the price was n't worth quoting. The boys could

dig dandelions without any risk of being driven out of the yard. (There were not many yards then, as most of the houses were out of doors.) Then if the poor man had his little "spring pig" that he had kept through the winter, "pork and dandelions" were no small items in the bill of fare while "greens" lasted.

But notwithstanding all the dandelions, and all the haddock, and all the clams, and all the other adjuncts that lessened the chances of starvation, the spring of 1837 opened with prospects gloomy enough. Many had leisure to attend to any matter of local or general interest; and such an occasion arose when the Eastern Railroad Company announced its purpose to build the railroad between Boston and Salem.

The Eastern Railroad Company began operations in the fall of 1836. A railroad was then comparatively a new thing. Absurd ideas were entertained as to the speed of locomotives. Some who had never seen one supposed that it would be impossible to get off the track in season to avoid the engine if it were anywhere in sight. The bustle and stir incident to starting the new enterprise in Lynn broke up the monotony of the dull season following the panic of the spring of 1837. Gangs of Irish laborers were set to work in several sections of the town along the line of the road, and their work was watched with a high degree of interest by the boys.

and with hardly less interest by men of the largest size. Immigration on a large scale was then also a new thing, the first impetus being given to it by the great canal enterprises of New York and Pennsylvania, some ten or fifteen years before, and intensified a little later by the railroad projects then in their infancy. The number of immigrants arriving in the United States for the six years ending 1836 averaged about 60,000 a year. There were but twenty-three miles of railroad in the United States in 1830. In 1835 all the lines in operation hardly reached eleven hundred miles. In 1850 nine thousand miles had been built, the increase in the meantime showing that the number of miles constructed doubled each five years.

So many men, and so many teams — and especially so many three-wheeled carts — so many shovels, and so many pick-axes, wielded by as many men working in the gravel pits, where the deep cuts were made through the high land; so many interesting and amusing episodes arising from the various work going on, all tended to enliven the summer of that memorable panic year, if they did not add much to the pockets of the idle lookers-on. There was a good deal of gratuitous supervision given that year. Rows of men and boys sat along the banks on the sides of the "cut" without once thinking of charging the Eastern Railroad Company a cent for their disinterested superintendence.

Perhaps as good an idea of the simultaneousness of motion could be obtained from the way the shovels and pick-axes of these laborers dropped to the ground when the bell struck twelve, or when the signal was given to quit work at night; and the way they scrambled up the slopes on their way to dinner exhibited a variety, if not the poetry, of motion. Three shanties were built on the southwest side of Green street, near the bridge — on the northwest side — for the accommodation of the gangs of men at work on that section of the road — one for cooking, one for lodging, and one for an eating saloon. None of these edifices bore the slightest resemblance to any of the leading hotels of New England. The sums paid to architects for plans of these buildings were probably not large. They were not entirely air-tight, but had various openings that cut off all necessity for patent ventilators. The diet furnished was simple, and no time was lost in making selections — corned beef, potatoes, and flour bread, and tea made from a brand, to the writer unknown. As gunpowder tea was not much used at that time, and as the Emperor of China had not advertised the kind he used, it was probably neither of these grades. On Sundays large numbers would gather about these shanties to see how matters were conducted; especially those who had no opportunity to note the progress made

during the week. Some of these did not attend church regularly.

The digging necessary in building the road through the elevated land lying between the Central Station and Chatham street supplied a vast amount of gravel that raised the grade of several streets in the vicinity. Union street — till almost this time called Estes Lane — was one of those that put on a new appearance from that day. Up to this time this road was one of the worst in town. It was then some three feet lower than its present grade, and in the spring of each year when the freshets came was half this depth, more or less, (and in spots considerably more,) under water, from the foot of Pearl street to Green street. Besides the hundreds of loads of gravel put upon the road at this point, a large amount was used to fill certain low lots on the northwest side, thus changing some worthless swamp land into valuable building sites. The three-wheeled carts in which this gravel was carried were objects of special interest to the boys, as these, with horses attached, gave frequent occasions for amateur driving. These teams were loaded and sent in pairs, one following the other, the horses, from long training, knowing where to go, and what to do; and the small boy marching by the side of the head horse felt the weight of his responsibility more than the horse did his load of gravel.

But the interest heightened to the spectators seated on the banks, as well as to many others, when the shovels and pick-axes of the workmen struck against the formidable ledges lying just east of Green street. Blasting on a large scale had never before been done in Lynn. The sight and operation of the gigantic drills; the immense quantities of powder used; the scampering away to a safe distance when the signal was given that the fuse was about to be touched off; the moment of suspense while waiting for the charge to explode; the fragments of rocks flying into the air like rockets, or larger masses of rock forced through the covering, and thrown up above the top of the pit and burying themselves in the soft earth; all this was an excitement and a diversion that relieved the tedium of many an idle hour when clam-digging, fishing, and berrying were not the more serious employments of the long-to-be-remembered summer of 1837.

There was a good deal of gardening done in Lynn in the summer of 1837. This was also true elsewhere. If this were a treatise on political economy it would be proper to remark that this always takes place in periods of depressed trade. When business is driving in the various branches of manufacturing industry the gardens and small lots of land are likely to be neglected. Ten thousand of these small parcels of land are brought under

cultivation in seasons of dull business, thus adding largely to the agricultural products of the nation. These products may make little show in census returns, but they, nevertheless, have a great significance. The writer has not at hand the industrial returns of the town of Lynn for that year; but he feels confident in saying that more potatoes, more beans, more corn, more squashes, and other vegetables, were planted, as well as more hogs raised, than for several years before. Uncle D.'s experience illustrated the domestic economy of keeping a pig. On one occasion one of the financiers of the neighborhood undertook, by the following argument, to prove to Uncle D. that pig-keeping was not profitable. "You paid, Uncle D., five dollars for your pig when you bought him?" Uncle D. assented. "Now, in thirty weeks, from this time till Christmas, the pig will eat twenty bushels of meal; that will cost fifteen dollars?" Uncle D. again assented. "Now, there 's one dollar for two loads of seaweed, and a dollar for killing. That makes twenty-two dollars, and we 've reckoned nothing for the trouble of taking care of the pig. So you see your pig will cost you twenty-two dollars, with the risk of all accidents. Now, suppose he weighs two hundred and fifty pounds when you kill him, (about a fair average,) and you get eight cents a pound for your pork (as much as you can expect); you will have but twenty dollars, and so

you 'll lose *two dollars*." "Just so," said Uncle D.; "but if I keep my pig till Christmas time, *I shall have him*. If I do n't, I shall not have him *nor the money to buy one; and I shall be so much out.*" Uncle D.'s philosophy has a wide-spread application. The pig was his savings bank.

Perhaps there never was a year when so much miserable trash called provisions was eaten in the town of Lynn as in the panic year of 1837. There also never was a time since the second war with Great Britain when such price was paid for any such stuff. Pork was eighteen to twenty cents a pound, and such pork! The utmost impartiality was displayed in packing this pork. All parts pretty much went into the barrel, not excepting a good many bristles that ought to have gone to the brush-makers, and a good deal besides that never ought to have gone anywhere except, possibly, to the foot of a grape-vine. It is not surprising that Grahamism flourished a few years after this. One look into a barrel of this pork would make more Grahamites than a whole course of lectures. This pork was known by the euphonious and suggestive name of "rattlesnake pork," as the opinion more or less prevailed that the pigs were raised on that stimulating diet. The abundance of this reptile in some parts of the West, and the well-known exemption of the hog from all danger coming from the bite of this venomous snake, probably lay at the

foundation of this opinion. To this may be added the extremely social disposition of the hog when he found himself in the company of these graceful vermin. The reader may possibly infer that Western pork was not held in high esteem at that time. That inference is correct. This allusion to the diet of those times would not be complete without the mention of the corollary of pork — *beans*. These, perhaps, had been round the "Horn," or experienced the rigors of an Arctic winter, or the dessicating effect of a torrid climate, or most likely had borne all three of these geographical seasonings. They were sold for white beans. Some of them *were* white. Butter was something of a luxury in that memorable panic year. Not many could afford to eat it, and there was a good deal of it that nobody wanted to eat if he could afford it. This butter had several characteristics. It was miscellaneous in its appearance, in color ranging all the way from a lard-like whiteness to a yellow, suggestive of the setting sun. But its chief characteristic was strength rather than beauty. Some of the wags used to allude to this kind of butter as a motive power in moving buildings. Its price at this time kept pace both with its strength and beauty, though it did not reach such high figures as in after years. The extremely high cost of provisions, occasioned by the scarcity arising from the short crops of the preceding year, intensified the hardships of the panic. An

apology was sometimes thought to be needed for indulging in any such luxury as butter. In one of these periods of high prices Mr. I. called at a grocery store and inquired the price of this article. "Sixty cents a pound," was the answer. Mr. I. hesitated a moment, and then said, "*I'll take a quarter of a pound, for sickness.*"

A significant fact is brought out by comparing the retail prices of commodities at this period when the order system prevailed, with the wholesale prices as quoted in the Boston and New York markets. As an instance of this, the highest wholesale price of superfine flour in Boston, as shown by the commercial record for the year 1837, was $9.50 per barrel. It was sold as high as $2.20 by the quarter of a hundred, (28 pounds,) the old style denoting a quarter of a gross hundred, (112 pounds,) or one-seventh of a barrel of 196 pounds. This, it will be seen, was at the rate of $15.40 per barrel, and was not, probably, *very superfine* in quality either. The prices of a list of articles could be given showing how wide was the gap between wholesale *cash* prices and retail *order* prices; and the gap was still wider, probably, between these cash prices and the prices charged by the manufacturers who kept goods with which to supply their workmen.

The order system — already treated upon in a former chapter — was spasmodic and irregular in

its operation. In "good times" cash was generally paid to "jours" and "binders" as far back as 1830. During the six years preceding the panic of 1837 workmen were in great demand, and cash was generally paid to those who demanded it. Perhaps the question will be asked, why did n't they all demand it? To fully answer this question would require a statement unfolding the idiosyncracies of individuals, a history of business at that period, and, in short, a complete microcosm of society as it then existed. It was understood that some preferred to take orders, giving as a reason that the "boss" would be more likely to keep them at work in dull times if they took orders for their labor when they might get cash. Another class had an account at the store. This account would run a month — sometimes three months — then an order would be drawn covering the whole amount. This looked like business; but the workman did n't see that this was like paying twenty per cent. interest — an immense drain upon his resources that kept hundreds like him poor without their knowing the reason why. He did not see that credit, when needless, was the bane of the poor man, leading him into expenditures he would not make if cash were to be drawn from the pocket when the purchase was made. Many did not find out how bitter was their bondage to the system of orders and long credits until a fortunate experience of the cash system de-

livered them from the harassing burden of unsettled accounts, and made its indelible marks upon the pocket-book.

This period — between 1831 and 1837 — did a great work in teaching the workingmen of Lynn the lesson that cash and short credits gave him more bread and less anxiety, and a better chance to lay by a few dollars for a rainy day. The growth of Lynn was never so rapid before as during these years. But when the crash came everything was changed. Orders took the place of cash to a great extent. Manufacturers traded off shoes for any sort of "truck" they could get, and the workman was glad to get work, and take his pay in anything that would supply his wants, from a chip-hat to broken salt fish, or from "stoga" shoes to "lantern" mutton that bore no sort of resemblance to the South Down variety seen in English markets. There was any quantity of shoes in the market which the owners were willing to exchange for any product made or raised in any part of the earth, or that came from any known sea. The shoe manufacturers of Lynn had a large share of these shoes. By a sudden freak of fashion, more idiotic in its operation than the freaks of fashion usually are, the style of shoes changed from the extreme wide toes to the opposite extreme of a style running almost to a point. This left no room for the toes unless the shoes worn were two or three sizes longer than the

feet of the wearer. Till within the last few years, shoes were made — both men's and women's — without any reference to the anatomy of the human foot. They began to narrow just where the foot begins to widen, as though the direct intention was to produce a crop of corns, bunions, and protruding joints. Shoes are now made (especially men's) with some reference to the shape of the foot. The civilization of the nineteenth century is wrestling with this problem, and it is to be hoped that brains will triumph. No apology is asked for this digression — if it is one — as the writer considers this matter of more consequence to all concerned in the questions here treated than any topic falling in the direct line of this record.

The manufacturers found these wide-toed shoes a drug in the market; and they were a drug because they possessed the only good quality that could be urged in their favor — they would not cramp the toes of the wearer. For this reason, mainly, they were carted from place to place, and transferred from hand to hand, until whatever of beauty or comeliness they had was lost. Not one pair in ten, probably, ever reached their destined end as a covering for the human foot; but on some bright, cool morning they doubtless eked out the fire in some retailer's or jobber's store, giving their odorous testimony that they had been sacrificed on the altar of a brainless fashion. It was necessary

to make a new departure in the style of shoes, and for several years we had ladies' shoes with toes running to a rounded point, exhibiting a fashion not much sillier than the Chinese styles seen in museums, and elsewhere.

Business was thoroughly prostrated till the summer of 1838. It then rallied, and Lynn had a short spurt of brisk trade which lasted hardly a year. The causes of the prostration were too deep, and run back too far to make any sudden cure possible. Politicians now took up the subject, and gave a diagnosis of the case that was perfectly satisfactory — to themselves. The administration was held responsible for the hard times. "Two dollars a day and roast beef" were promised to the workingmen if the "Hero of Tippecanoe" should be elected President of the United States.

As an evidence of the condition of the shoe business in Lynn in the years following the panic, the statistics of the leather trade might be cited as conclusive testimony. In 1838 the leather on hand and in process of tanning in New York was 1,009,-917 hides. In 1841 this had fallen to 541,600 sides, or about fifty per cent. Other kinds of business showed similar results. Things were in a grand condition to give the politicians who were out of office just the leverage they wanted. At the outset of the business troubles, political action was demanded to set the financial current the other way. To get

an intelligent appreciation of the notable campaign of 1840 it will be necessary to review, briefly, the political situation during the few preceding years. In July, 1836, President Jackson issued the famous "specie circular." This document instructed land agents to take nothing but specie in pay for public lands. This meant, simply, that government was to get something for these lands besides worthless paper. Speculators had been paying for them in "wild cat" currency issued from "coon-box banks," and the treasury already had more than it could use to any good purpose. Benton says that ten millions of this paper was on the way to the Land Office when the "specie circular" was issued. This, of course, put an end to a good deal of business activity — such as it was — inasmuch as it substituted money for worthless bank paper. Jackson had the sagacity to see how things were drifting. The crash came a few months after, and the administration was held responsible for all that happened, and also for continuing to reckon according to the rules of arithmetic. When Congress met in December, it passed an act rescinding the "specie circular." The bill was sent to the President the day before the adjournment of Congress, but as he did not sign it the act was null, and the circular remained in full force. In the following March a committee was sent to Washington, who told the President — Van Buren, just then inaugurated —

that the value of real estate had depreciated, within the last six months, more than $40,000,000; that within the last two months there had been more than two hundred and fifty failures, and that local stocks had declined $20,000,000. The trouble, they said, "was not to be laid to any undue extension of mercantile enterprise, (of course not,) but to the 'specie circular,' and several other things." But they reported that they could get nothing satisfactory from him. The President concluded to let the water run whichever way the slope set the current. This, of course, was not satisfactory to the politicians.

The partial revival of business in 1838 run their capital stock down very low, but when the "bank crash" of 1839 came this stock went up again like a rocket. All the business troubles were laid at the door of the administration. The opposition to the President was of the fiercest kind. But it was too late to remedy matters then by an appeal to the people, as Van Buren was just elected. The breakdown that came almost simultaneously with his inauguration supplied the Whigs with texts and party war-cries until the election of Harrison in the Fall of 1840.

The immediate cause of this second breakdown in 1839 was the disturbance of our trade with Great Britain, arising from the short crops of that country in that and the preceding year. Extreme cold and

excessive rains throughout England, Ireland, and Scotland diminished agricultural products — especially wheat — to a degree almost without parallel since the first years of the century. Wheat rose to a price it had not reached since 1816, and the quality was never so bad since that memorable year. This produced panic and financial distress in all the business centers of Great Britain, and the magnitude of our commercial relations, even then, with England brought the inevitable reaction to the United States. In October, 1839, the Bank of the United States closed its doors, and a general bank suspension followed. This was the old government bank whose charter, expiring in 1836, Congress refused to renew. It then obtained a charter from the Legislature of Pennsylvania. This was the king bank of the country, and its influence upon business, and upon the financial legislation of that period, was very great. Unless history lies, it was engaged in a good many crooked transactions, beginning with obtaining its charter by bribery in the Pennsylvania Legislature.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1840.

LOG CABINS AND HARD CIDER.

The campaign of 1840, therefore, opened richly. The makers of political song books reaped a harvest. Printers of hand-bills never did such a business before. It would be more amusing than edifying to the reader if some of the minor incidents of this political canvass were laid before him. The enthusiasm of the Whigs had never reached such heights. In 1836 they scattered their energies among three or four candidates, and were, of course, defeated. Now the rallying cry from one end of the country to the other was "Tippecanoe and Tyler too." The great features of the campaign were "Hard Cider" and "Log Cabins." These were the indispensable appendages of every political procession — a miniature log cabin, and behind it a barrel of hard cider, or a hard cider barrel. The tradition prevailed at the time that Gen. Harrison lived in a log cabin at North Bend, Ohio; and it is not unlikely that some supposed he got into it by creeping on his hands

and knees, or by stooping very low. Boys sang songs about the streets, and men got into fierce altercations in grocery stores, and at public places. These songs were not of the highest literary order, and they were not always sung in an artistic manner; but all deficiencies were more than made up by the glow of enthusiasm and patriotism that showed itself in all possible ways by men and boys of all ages at all times of day or night. As one went along the street a juvenile chorus would inquire in melodious accents, if not otherwise,

"Did you ever hear of the farmer that lived out in the West,
Of all the men for President the wisest and the best?"

Or a refrain would be heard, the burden of which was that somebody was a "used up man," and that the farmer aforesaid, or "Tippecanoe," had something to do in using him up—

"O Van! Van! Van is a used up man!
And with him we 'll beat little Van."

Those who had an eye to the main chance were ready to avail themselves of all this patriotic fervor, and miniature log cabins and cider barrels, emblematical and ornamental, were stuck on to everything, from a cane to a corn barn. It is said that one of our thrifty citizens laid the foundations of his fortune in the manufacture of canes, each of which was surmounted with one of these emblematical cider

barrels two inches in length, and of proportionate circumference.

But the enthusiasm rose higher than two-inch cider barrels, and even higher than bird-house log cabins on the ridge-poles of the tallest barns. A grand log cabin must be built large enough to accommodate the multitudes that might gather to hear the political orators that came from every corner of the Union to tell the people how Locofoco misrule had brought the country to the brink of ruin, and how the honest yeomanry of the land must rise in their might and deliver the nation from the machinations and intrigues of designing politicians and the selfish ambition of third-rate statesmen. One told the people how Jackson, and his administration, had ruined the country by overthrowing the United States Bank. Another how the Tariff of '32, with its sliding scale of duties, had prostrated the industry of the nation, and finally whelmed it in the financial gulf of 1837, where it lay while our great commercial rivals held a jubilee over the ruins of the proud fabric of trade and commerce. And a third told how Price and Swartwout, and a host of minor defaulters, had plundered the treasury, and how the floods of official corruption were sweeping from the Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. Eloquence was more plentiful than corn that year.

The log cabin was built by the side of the Eastern Railroad, on the land making part of the eastern

end of Harrison Court. It was built of pine boards rather than pine logs, the seats and platform of pretty much the same material, and the whole arrangement outside and inside wore a rural, if not a back-woods appearance. It was one hundred feet long, and sixty wide. A walk, or bridge, led from the railroad to the rostrum, or speaker's stand, for the accommodation of those who were to be honored with a seat on the platform. A door, or opening, on either side, about midway between the front and rear, admitted the audience, and gave ample means of egress in case of fire. But there was more danger from water than from fire. The roof was not absolutely water tight, and in case of a shower one could pick out a dry spot or go outside, just as he chose. It was lighted with a chandelier made from a pine tree. This was before illuminating gas was thought of in these parts, and the various burning fluids that preceded the introduction of kerosene oil had not yet taken the place of the tallow candle, or the lamp filled with whale oil. Cheap tin lamps adorned various parts of the cabin; and when these were lighted the inside of this rural edifice had a unique and attractive appearance. The boys reveled on these occasions. Whether there was anything that reminded them of Aladdin's lamp, or an enchanted palace, is not definitely known; but if to ten of them were given the choice to join the procession, and go to one of these patriotic gather-

ings in the log cabin, or study his Sunday School lesson, nine of them, at least, would have gone to the cabin.

After all was ready it was dedicated on the 17th of August. Grand preparations were made. The cabin was crammed full, and overflowed in all directions. David Taylor was President of the Whig Club, and Leverett Saltonstall, the member of Congress from Essex South, was the orator of the occasion. The Whigs of Boston presented a banner to the Whigs of Lynn, and one of our prominent citizens, now living, the Hon. Thomas B. Newhall, responded in a "neat and appropriate speech of acknowledgment." A song from the Ward Five Glee Club was sung, and then the impatient audience listened to an introductory address by Mr. Taylor, President of the Club. Mr. Taylor was a man of imposing presence, and his introduction of Mr. Saltonstall was performed in a manner just suited to the occasion; and when he closed by saying, "I have the honor of introducing to you, my fellow-citizens, the Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, an old war horse, but brave and spirited as ever," the shouts of the excited multitude made the "welkin ring." The writer, though present, did not take notes of Mr. Saltonstall's speech, not supposing he would have occasion to use them, but the address was pronounced by high authority as every way worthy of the distinguished orator.

Soon after came the great Bunker Hill Convention, September 10. This was one of the largest — probably the largest — political gatherings ever seen in New England up to that period. The Boston *Atlas* gave the figures of the procession. From the several counties within the State, 33,400. From other States, including cavalcade, 12,550; making a total of 45,950. Lynn shone on that occasion. She mustered some five or six hundred, beside making a good show in the cavalcade. One paper said:

"The great feature, however, was the Great Shoe from Lynn, mounted on wheels, drawn by six beautiful white horses. In the shoe were about twenty men."

To which the Lynn *Freeman* added:

"We cannot avoid expressing the high gratification expressed by the company in the shoe at the manner of their reception throughout the whole route."

From the newspaper accounts of the day this was one of the most enthusiastic, as well as the largest, political demonstrations that ever "tore the welkin to tatters" since the continent was inhabited. Banners, flags, mottoes, emblems, every sort of political device, mechanical and marine, agricultural and allegorical, were seen along the line of the procession, and as each met the eyes of a new throng of spectators vociferous cheers from thousands, and

waggish comments from the few endowed with wit were heard until the caldron of excitement boiled over and ran down the sides.

Political meteorology was of the most startling kind that year. There were no balmy zephyrs or gentle showers. There was nothing tamer than an earthquake during the campaign. Torrents, tornadoes, and avalanches were monthly occurrences, if they did not happen more frequently. There was a good deal of thunder rolling over the prairies, and lightning flashed from every quarter of the political horizon. Gunnery, and especially artillery practice, was largely called upon for metaphors. As early as March was heard the "First Gun from Illinois." Then in "unterrified Connecticut" was seen the "first dawning of the Sun of Austerlitz." Soon after we were called upon to note the "Progress of the Storm in Ohio." Then "the Old Dominion speaks in Thunder." Then all eyes were directed to the Baltimore National Convention to behold every sort of phenomena ever seen in political meteorology. Voices echoed, torrents roared, the rushing sound of the Mississippi waters mingled with every breeze that "swept over the plains of the South." We were invited to listen to all kinds of noises in every part of the land. Baltimore was the focus of all these noises. The North shouted to the South; the East called to the young West. Besides this there was music by several

bands, and a number of guns were fired. Our distinguished fellow-citizen, the late Alonzo Lewis, wrote a song for the occasion, beginning—

> "Here's health to the Freeborn and health to the Brave;
> We will chant the bold Pean o'er mountain and wave."

There was considerable more of it, but they probably had n't time to sing it. Next came the Fourth of July; all over the United States were seen processions and log cabins, cider barrels and stuffed coons, and a repetition, on a small scale, of pretty much everything that had been heard and seen at Baltimore. Then was heard the "Fourth peal of Harrison Thunder from Louisiana." The August elections then came, and they were introduced as

THE TORNADO.

This tornado swept through a dozen States, and a small breeze had no chance for a show. Occasionally a writer would drop from meteorology into sociology — as Silas Wegg dropped into poetry — and then the heading would be, "The Progress of the Revolution." But this was generally too tame. The public appetite had been fed so long on whirlwinds and cataracts that a less stimulating diet failed to keep up the tone of the system, and so when it came to Ohio, the home of "Old Tip," nothing short of a tenth part of a million earth-

quakes was sufficient to express the struggling emotions of the editor as he announced to his readers the result of the ballot box. "A hundred thousand earthquake-shouts for the gallant Buckeyes," was the reasonable call he made upon them, and it is to be supposed that the explosion came off — such as it was.

The proceedings of the second meeting in the Log Cabin were not fully reported by the Whig press — in fact, were not reported at all, as their columns clearly showed. The doings of that gathering are, therefore, left to tradition, a somewhat uncertain guide, or to the still more unreliable accounts given in the exaggerated reports by political opponents. As there was no special reason why these political opponents should be reticent, there was something more than an allusion to, and an incidental comment upon, a meeting whose features were rather extraordinary, even in that extraordinary campaign. But there are many men now living — both Whigs and Democrats at that time — who have a vivid remembrance of the incidents and accidents, the episodes and adjuncts, of that memorable evening. A distinguished speaker had been invited from a distant State. According to explanations afterwards given, the exhaustive labors of an exciting campaign had impaired his health, and recent efforts in addressing large multitudes had given his voice, naturally clear and sonorous, a

hoarseness and huskiness ill-suited to oratory. Besides this, a temporary illness had unfitted him for the arduous labors and excitement incident to a political meeting in those stormy times. To meet the exigencies of the occasion, certain stimulus was given — a more common treatment then than now, though not entirely unknown at the present day. But this did not meet the exigency. On the contrary, it increased the huskiness of voice, disturbed the logical order of thought, and the coherence of ideas. It was plain that the speaker was not in a condition to clearly unfold a principle of constitutional law, or to follow the windings of an intricate question of bank or tariff. When the hour arrived, the Whigs were not slow in apprehending the situation, and the few "Locos" present were not a whit behind them in taking in all the peculiar features of the case. A few ineffectual attempts at speech on the part of the speaker revealed the situation too clearly for anybody to misunderstand. The Whigs, not knowing what further demonstrations might be made, quietly withdrew, and might have been seen going home in all directions, but generally by the shortest route. But the "Locos" did not seem to regard it as lost time. To them it was an entertainment unprecedented in its attractions, and they seemed in no hurry to leave. By some unaccountable system of telegraphy the Democrats, who had no idea of attending a Whig meeting that

evening, got wind of the affair, and soon the ample space made by the receding forms of the Whigs was filled with interested spectators who never voted a Whig ticket in all their lives. If not a sympathetic audience it certainly was not an indifferent one. They encouraged the speaker in all possible ways. They called him by his Christian name, and also by his family name. They designated him by the name of his native State, applauded all his efforts, and showed him every possible attention. A few ineffectual attempts on the part of the speaker resulted in nothing better than certain incoherent utterances, showing that the flesh was weaker than the spirit. There never was a better suited set than those "Locos," who seemed so anxious to get instructed in Whig politics. The next issue of their organ, the *Record*, gave a graphic description of this meeting, which more than made amends for the reticence of the Whig journal. In shoemakers' shops, and wherever there was a congenial crowd, this event furnished a fruitful topic for jokes and comments for a long time after; and when it was no longer new, it became embalmed as a reminiscence to be called up whenever the exigencies of political discussion seemed to demand an unusual draft upon party history.

The next address at the Cabin was by Daniel Webster, on the 16th of September. It is needless to say that the audience got something worth listen-

ing to. It was a calm, dispassionate review of the political situation, characterized by that dignity and absence of all personal invective which marked all the efforts of this distinguished statesman.

Caleb Cushing was the speaker at the fourth gathering at the Log Cabin, October 5th. Mr. Cushing was then in the prime of early manhood, and already gave promise of that transcendent scholarship and mastery of political science that afterwards placed him in the front rank of American diplomatists and statesmen. His masterly analysis of the great questions then dividing the two great parties — and especially that of finance — was a performance worthy the attention of either Whig or Democrat; but on the whole it gave much better satisfaction to the Whigs than to the Democrats. Before this address was finished, an episode occurred that had no bearing upon any one of the great questions discussed during the evening. A vile compound, prepared, it was said, at an apothecary's not a mile away, was brought into the cabin by parties unknown. This turned the whole current of thought away from the great questions under consideration; for no logic or eloquence could stand for a moment in the face of that villainous smell. The speaker saw that something attracted the attention of the audience, and more than likely had other evidence besides his eyesight, and the chairman saw it, too, and more than saw it, and came to the

rescue. "These, fellow-citizens," said Mr. Taylor, "are the fumes of Locofocoism, and they will soon pass away." But they did n't pass away — at least for some time. That was not a presence to be waved off with a flourish of rhetoric, or a bland invitation to leave. This outrage, which was fittingly denounced at the time, gives some idea of the amenities of politics in those days. And yet there are some people who would like to go back to old times. Order was at last restored, and in a good degree the normal condition of the air inside the cabin, whose ventilation was ample. It may be proper to mention here that no expense was incurred in making this cabin air-tight; but in order to secure abundant ventilation, and for the free admission of wind, heat, cold, dust, moonlight and sunlight, the sides were left open near the top. Along this opening a row of boys' heads might have been seen upholstering the space below the eaves, so that this outside gallery made a conspicuous addition to the audience which, on one occasion, called forth high eulogy from one of the orators. "Here," said he, "we not only see this spacious cabin filled with enthusiastic Whigs, *but the roof covered with boys, peering through the cracks.*" Probably neither Mr. Cushing, nor any of his audience, had any idea that in a few years he would lead a regiment into Mexico in support of a war more fiercely denounced by the Whig

party, and all its great leaders, than any measure that had divided the nation since the war of 1812. After this it was not strange that he received the Democratic nomination for Governor in 1848.

Two more meetings were held in the cabin before the election — one, Monday evening, October 12th, addressed by Franklin Dexter, of Boston, the next on the Thursday evening following, when the Hon. Daniel P. King, of Danvers, was the speaker. The cabin was crowded to hear the honorable gentleman, who was a favorite in Lynn. Mr. King, though not a man of commanding talents, had high qualities to recommend him. He never indulged in personalities, was a man of spotless integrity of character, and especially esteemed for the urbanity of his manners, and his genial social qualities.

THE DEMOCRATIC PAVILION OF 1840.

The Democratic Pavilion occupied the lot near the east corner of Union and Exchange streets, nearly opposite Almont street. This neighborhood wore a very different aspect then from what now appears. The first Eastern Railroad Station was built about two years before. It was not noted for the amplitude of its accommodations, or the elegance of its design. Models of this structure were never seen in any gallery of art, nor are any

designs showing its elaborateness or uniqueness, or whatever other novelty it possessed, preserved in any manual of architecture. Between this station and the old Silsbee estate, which included the land on Union street now covered in part by the Newhall Block, there was no building near the front line. From this front line the land rose to quite a hill, at the top of which stood the house of Nathan Alley, facing Exchange street. In front of the house was a well, with an old-fashioned "sweep," such as is still occasionally seen. Doubtless many who read these pages will recall this old well, and with it the familiar lines of Woodworth, who, probably, had just such a well as this in his mind's eye when he wrote—

"The old oaken bucket, the iron-bound bucket,
The moss-covered bucket which hung in the well."

This well-sweep could be seen all over "Black Marsh:" for the territory between this point and the sea — extending from Nahant street, on the east, to Munroe street on the west, now thickly covered with buildings of every description — then contained only a few scattering dwellings, and a few still more scattering stores and small factories, dotted here and there with a shoemaker's shop. This hill, which was soon after leveled, furnished a large amount of excellent material for roads; but before it was leveled its slope made a very conven-

ient site for the Democratic Pavilion, whose rear extended to within a few rods of the top of the hill. The seats gradually rising one above another gave it a somewhat amphitheatre appearance. But this was the only respect in which this pavilion bore the slightest resemblance to the renowned amphitheatres of Greece and Rome, not to mention the famous edifices of other ancient nations. There is probably no document extant giving the dimension of this pavilion. The writer did not measure it, being too young at the time to consider the question as to the probable interest posterity might have in knowing its length and breadth; but he is inclined to the opinion that it was equal in size to the log cabin of the Whigs. It was built of pretty much the same sort of lumber, and it may interest some to know that shortly after, the stock was used in the construction of the Sagamore Hall Building, now occupying part of the same lot — a structure described at the time as a "splendid hall."

The first addresses given in the Pavilion were by George Bancroft, the historian, and Amasa Walker. At this meeting a string of thirteen resolutions was adopted, and a vote of thanks to these gentlemen for "their eloquent addresses." At this meeting several boys — some of them probably of large size — made a "powwow" outside the pavilion singing "hard cider songs," which called out a

pleasant remark from Mr. Bancroft about that sort of "Whig argument."

The second address was delivered by Robert Rantoul, Jr. A large crowd gathered to hear him, but not all were able to do so for want of room. Mr. Rantoul was a great favorite with the Democrats. He was then a young man of thirty-five, but had already laid the foundation which, in after years, made him one of the leading statesmen of the land. Few men have the power of statement that he possessed, and fewer still that unwearied industry that sifted to the bottom every question that he handled. Nothing escaped him. Like Pitt, he had whole rows of figures at his command, and his mastery of details was equaled only by the clearness and logical order of his statements. The Whigs disposed of him by calling him "Bobby." Now and then an ambitious young Whig would offer to test the temper of his blade by proposing to cross lances with Mr. Rantoul upon some question of bank or tariff.

On the 23d of September there was a "mighty gathering" in the pavilion to hear Benjamin F. Hallett's reply to Mr. Webster. According to the Democratic journal some fifteen hundred people assembled to hear Mr. Hallett "expose the sophistries and fallacies" of his distinguished opponent "in a manner that carried conviction to all reasonable minds." Mr. Webster did not reply to this.

No reason was ever given for this reticence. In all these gatherings there was the usual attendance of boys. A good many boys turned Whig during this campaign. Early in the season there seemed to be unmistakable signs that the tide of victory was setting in favor of the "hero of Tippecanoe," the youngsters judging by the ostentatious demonstrations — the log cabins, the songs and hurrahs, the glare of torchlight processions, the blare of brass bands, and all accompanying noises. A good many larger boys went the same way for the same reason.

The next address was given by Albert Smith, of Maine, October 15th. Mr. Smith was a pithy, magnetic speaker, and this meeting was one of the most enthusiastic held during the campaign. The Democratic journal of the day alluded to this occasion in the following inspiring and eloquent manner:

"The single-hearted, hard-handed sons of toil were there firm as the rocks of our iron-bound shores. Like them will they meet and roll back the surges of federalism that are threatening to overthrow them."

There was a great deal more as good as this. It was amusing to hear the clear tones in which the Democrats whistled to keep up their courage long after the verdict had been rendered beyond hope of reversion. The August elections had practically settled the matter. But a month later the Demo-

cratic paper had the following encouraging and classical extract:

"Well, whistle on, my good fellows. Put your trust in log cabins as the *Romans* did in their wooden horse and all may yet go well."

This *Roman* wooden horse was probably of the same pedigree as the old "Trojan" horse. The "stock," as the shoemakers would say, was pretty much the same.

The next meeting at the pavilion was on October 22d. Bradford Sumner, of Boston, was the speaker. Mr. Sumner was the candidate for Congress of the Suffolk Democracy, a man of talents, and one that never descended to low tricks or calumnious utterances. His manner was calm and dignified, and the matter of his addresses was worthy the attention of his audiences.

Mr. Rantoul spoke again in the pavilion, in the afternoon of November 6th, and in the evening of the following day addresses were made by Albert Smith, and John P. Hale, of New Hampshire. Mr. Hale was always a popular speaker. His irrepressible good humor and rollicking wit made him a capital campaign orator. After he had taken his stand before an audience nobody wanted to hear the band play, for there was more music in one of his speeches than could be got out of three or four bands. It was this talent which, when in after

years he stood as one of the great leaders of what seemed the forlorn hope of the anti-slavery movement in the United States Senate, enabled him to turn the assaults of his opponents, and disarm the bitterness of rancorous debate, and set that august body into a roar of laughter.

This ended the meetings at the pavilion. Not all the wit, nor all the eloquence that the Democracy was able to command throughout the length and breadth of the land, could roll back the tide that bore the Whig party on to victory. The defeat was utter and overwhelming. Nothing like it was ever known in the history of presidential contests. Van Buren carried but seven States — Alabama, Arkansas, Illinois, Missouri, New Hampshire, South Carolina, and Virginia — and received but sixty out of two hundred and ninety-four electoral votes. And so ended the memorable campaign of 1840.

THE OLD SILSBEE STREET DEBATING CLUB.

This club, so celebrated in our local history, was organized in, or near, the fall of 1841. The record of its organization is lost, or at least a somewhat diligent inquiry has failed to bring it to light; but very satisfactory evidence has been obtained by the writer, showing that the beginning of its history was near the time above mentioned. The journal of the club, now in his possession, goes back to January of the year 1843, and the list of officers for that year is given as follows: Curators — D. H. Barlow, James N. Buffum, Benjamin F. Mudge; Treasurer — Isaac B. Cobb; Secretaries — Asa T. Newhall, Benjamin F. Mudge. The name of the President is not given, but it appears from allusions in the minutes that James P. Boyce occupied that position at that time. No complete list of the members is given in these records, and the following roll is probably defective in the omission of a few names which at some time in the history of the institution added to its usefulness, or shed luster

upon its fame: George Hood, James N. Buffum, James P. Boyce, George W. Keene, George Foster, William V. Munroe, George W. Mudge, Daniel C. Baker, Stephen N. Breed, Abraham Pray, Thomas J. Pinkham, Dr. E. A. Kittredge, Isaac B. Cobb, Gustavus Attwill, Perry Newhall, Darius Barry, James Merrill, Jesse Hutchinson, William Bassett, Ebenezer Hussey, Nathan D. Chase, William A. Clough, Joseph M. Fuller, Addison Davis, Edwin Jeffreys, William D. Chamberlain, Dr. Daniel Perley, Plummer Chesley, H. M. Woods, Thomas Stacey, Joseph Smithurst, Ezra Baker, Elbridge Lovejoy, Warren Jewett, Oliver Porter, Henry Clapp, Thomas Chrystal, James M. Usher, Oliver H. Swain, Caleb Alden, Joshua Patch, Hiram A. Tenney, Caleb M. Long, Nathaniel Brown.

A list of questions preserved in the journal of the society shows that the discussions took a wide range. Metaphysics, political economy, social science, party questions, physiology, temperance, and more especially the great question of slavery, which was then looming above the nation's horizon, and engaging the attention of North and South in angry controversy, and which ended a quarter of a century later through the shock of a gigantic war, were discussed, and probably settled to the satisfaction of some, both members and spectators. But whatever the decision of the question might be, the debate itself rarely failed to edify and amuse —

though a rigid regard for truth would compel the declaration that the ratio of amusement was sometimes largely in excess of the edification.

The following are a few of the multitude of questions discussed, but nothing except an actual attendance upon the debates can give any idea of the range the discussions took:

"Has the Drama been a benefit to mankind?"

"Is the multiplicity of Newspapers in our country beneficial?"

"Is the Constitution of the United States a pro-slavery document?"

"Is Man capable of self-government?"

"Is the Christian Sabbath, so-called, of human or Divine origin?"

"Would it be expedient to abolish Capital Punishment in this State?"

"Has a person a right to get married in the present state of civilization?"

"Is it expedient to dissolve the Union of the American States?"

The writer would like to give a few pen-and-ink sketches of these debates. He was generally there, and can recall much pertaining to the regular proceedings, and more especially there remain imprinted on his memory the salient points — the incidents and episodes that painted in glowing colors the characteristics of members — and which gave to these discussions an interest that attracted spec-

tators from far and near. But he is writing too near the scene of action to invest the portraits with the garb of personality, though posterity — not a very remote posterity — may have occasion to regret the scruples that too often, perhaps, deprive the world of much that it would like to know.

When one of these characteristic debates was expected to come off, the vestry of the Silsbee Street Church was packed to overflowing, to witness a display that combined more elements of interest than are usually crowded into an evening's entertainment. As many of the present generation do not know where these debates took place, and as posterity will know nothing at all about it unless somebody records the fact, the writer would say that these meetings were held in the vestry of the Christian Church, near the railroad bridge, on the north-east side of Silsbee street. This vestry, which was long used as a voting-room for Ward Four, has undergone several changes since the days of the old club.

The presiding officer did not attempt to confine debate within the strict limits of the terms of the question, but allowed a freedom that gave full scope to the genius, or learning, or oddities, of the several members. It was a treat to attend one of these debates. Not that great genius was often displayed. Not that great learning attracted the listeners with a show of erudition; for this was rarer still; (the

writer remembers but two collegiates among the members;) but they were a set of men for whom the common school had done its usual work — though in some cases even this aid had been very slight — sharp, earnest men for the most part, with all their faculties on the alert. Many of them had risen from the shoemaker's seat, and not a few even then worked at the time-honored craft. It was a time when the shoemaker's shop was a center of instruction, where questions of every kind were canvassed. It was a time when the daily newspaper had already for some years done its peculiar work in educating the people on a broader scale than schools or colleges can reach. Each shop was an incipient debating club. Here were often found together Whig and Democrat, Abolitionists and Third Party men, each ready to throw down the gauntlet of debate, and eager for a tussle over some question of church or State, of national or of local politics. One would read the newspaper, the others would follow with comments of approval or dissent. Now a ringing paragraph would call forth a burst of applause from one side and a fierce denunciation on the other. It is not strange that these members came to the meetings of the club charged with the preparation they had received from the informal discussions of the workshops. But they were not all shoemakers. Here were ambitious politicians, rising young lawyers, and

doctors of medicine; and now and then a doctor of divinity was there as a listener, and sometimes as a participant. As might be expected, the shoe manufacturer, or "boss," was fully represented here. Accordingly, questions of business or commerce, and all political measures having a bearing upon the trade and industries of the country, were considered and sifted — tariff, banks, internal improvements, machinery, all passed through the ordeal of examination and criticism. Now and then one of the members run to statistics. Perhaps he was a tariff or an anti-tariff man. When that question was up he would come in bristling with figures. He would give the scale of duties under the tariff of '24, which Webster did n't favor, and the scale under the tariff of '28, which Webster did favor. He would show how the sliding scale of the tariff of '32 worked, and if he was a fierce Whig he 'd tell you that the salvation of the country depended upon the passage of the tariff bill of '42, which just then was agitating the nation from one end to the other.

The Whig element in the club was large and influential. That party, so lately flushed with the victory that crowned the campaign of 1840 — the "hard cider" and "log cabin" campaign — which ended in the election of Gen. Harrison (who died within a month of his inauguration), was now staggering beneath the blows given to Whig policy

by his successor, John Tyler. His veto of the Bank Bill, a measure promptly passed by a Whig Congress, spread dismay through the ranks of the victorious party: but the dismay was soon forgotten in the exultation that followed the passage of the high tariff of '42. If there was anything else wanting to give zest to political discussions, the slavery question, which, even at that day, agitated the whole nation, was beginning to organize itself for political action. The leading Whigs of the club were George Foster, George W. Keene, Gustavus Attwill, Ebenezer Hussey, George W. Mudge, Isaac B. Cobb and Daniel C. Baker. The Democrats made the following showing: George Hood, Asa T. Newhall, William A. Clough, William V. Munroe, Plummer Chesley, Caleb M. Long, Thomas J. Pinkham, William D. Chamberlain and Joseph Smithurst. Others there were with either Whig or Democratic antecedents, but whose party ties had been somewhat loosened. These afterwards found themselves in the ranks of the Third Party, or doing valiant service under the banner of Anti-Slavery. The Abolition wing of the party was led — if it was led by anybody — by James N. Buffum. Perhaps none of his intrepid compeers would wish to deprive him of that honor. But the Anti-Slavery army at that time was one in which there was not much quarreling about rank, as the honors that came from successful leadership

were too far in the distance to influence the ambition of many. And so were seen standing by Mr. B.'s side James P. Boyce — both with Quaker antecedents — Jesse Hutchinson, Addison Davis, Henry Clapp and Dr. E. A. Kittredge. Besides these there were others, less prominent as debaters, but equally decided in their convictions.

Here were seen all styles of oratory, both of manner and matter — the spread-eagle, the pump-handle, the angular, the stock-still, and the grindstone styles. Besides these there was a miscellaneous or compound style, combining a variety of motions and gestures which it would take a long string of geometrical terms to exemplify. One of these orators would arise, and the expression on his face would seem to intimate that the world was his audience, and his forum all the dry land on the planet. With one hand gracefully lifted toward the west, and the other toward the east, he seemed equally willing to speak a good word for both hemispheres, and appeared on equally familiar terms with the setting sun and the Atlantic ocean. One of these orators was holding forth in this place about the time to which this record refers. Just as one of the audience left the vestry, he was met at the door by a friend, who inquired — "Who's up now?" "Oh, H. has got the floor." "What's he talking about?" "Well, *when I came out he was staving a rainbow to pieces.*" One would end a

very emphatic sentence by standing on his toes; as much as to say, "If that is n't about right I 'd like to know it." Another would double up his fist and project it with great force in a direct line in front of him, making it exceedingly dangerous to any person within reach. Another had a motion like one turning a grindstone, with both hands hold of the crank. Still another astonished the listener with exhibitions of the explosive style, going off in spasmodic eruptions, whose force was measured by the steam generated in the debate.

By very general consent Mr. Hood was the acknowledged leader of the Democratic forces. He was then in the prime of early manhood, an active and sagacious man of business, of large, general information, and a man of decided convictions. He was a thorough believer in the principles and general policy of the party to which he gave his support. The high positions with which he was then, and afterward, honored by his fellow-citizens were a recognition of his talents and his administrative abilities. He had already been repeatedly elected to the Legislature — a member of the House — and was elected to the Senate in 1843. In 1846 he was Democratic candidate for Lieutenant Governor. He was the first Mayor of the city, (1850,) and was honored with a re-election the following year. In 1852 he was nominated for a seat in Congress, but was not elected. In 1853 he was chosen a mem-

ber of the convention for revising the Constitution of the State. How much he was indebted to the training which the old Silsbee Street Debating Club gave him is a question that no man can answer; but no one acquainted with the facts would question the value of its influence. Mr. Hood was an uncompromising opponent of all tariffs. He believed they were monopolies, anti-democratic in principle, and pernicious in their influence upon the industrial interests of the country, and the welfare of the masses. In debate Mr. Hood was an animated and interesting speaker. He had a ready command of language, a rapid utterance, and was somewhat vehement in his manner. Mr. Hood came to these debates armed with facts and figures, and his methodical manner, his mastery of details, and his skill in handling his subject made him a formidable opponent.

The leadership on the Whig side cannot be so clearly assigned to a single member. By general consent the palm of oratory would have been awarded to Ebenezer Hussey. In this respect he stood without a rival in the club; at least this seems to have been the verdict of history, as shown by a certain poetical effusion, in which he was styled the "Demosthenes of Lynn." But for general talent in debate there were others on all sides of the house his equal or his superior.

On the tariff question perhaps the chief opponent

of Mr. Hood's was Gustavus Attwill — usually known as "Major," as his father was before him. Like most of the members, Mr. Attwill learned the art of shoemaking in his youthful days. His education was such as the common schools could give him; but he improved his limited advantages by reading and independent investigation. He was as decided a Whig as Mr. Hood was a Democrat, and when the tariff question came up — or any similar question — there was generally a set-to between these champions. Mr. Attwill was an energetic speaker, delivering his opinion in a positive and fearless manner. He formed his conclusions deliberately, but never budged an inch from a position once taken. He impressed his audience that he was uttering his honest convictions, and whether his hearers agreed or disagreed with his conclusions, they gave him the respectful hearing which sincerity and courage always command. He usually came to these discussions prepared for the business in hand, and ready to follow the line of argument, however erratic its course, and at whatever tangent it might run.

Hardly less decided in their convictions of the soundness of Whig policy, and none the less ready to rush into any breach to defend it, were Messrs. Foster, Cobb, and G. W. Mudge. Mr. Foster was one of the shrewdest debaters whose talents gave prominence to this society. He had received a

good education; had been fitted for a teacher's profession, and then held the position of master in one of our public schools. He was, at this time, about thirty years of age. It is somewhat difficult to tell whether Mr. Foster was more formidable in making an attack than when acting on the defensive. He made assaults upon the most unexpected points, and conducted his line of defense with such skill and originality that his opponents could not even guess the extent of his fortifications. If an enlarged experience, and a riper culture, enabled him, in later years, when discussing some nice point of parliamentary law, to go back more readily to the time of Henry the Second, he could, at that early day, go back as far as was necessary to establish any point in history, even if a draft upon a remote antiquity had been needed to meet the wants of the occasion; and if it was needful to give a general chronological survey antedating the pyramids for a starting point, he could pursue it leisurely enough, and meander here and there sufficiently on the way down, to swamp any opponent either by the multiplicity of details or the length of time consumed in the narration.

If there was one member who, more than another, took an interest in all the concerns of the club, and who showed his interest by the constancy of his attendance, and his readiness to do his full share of work, it was Isaac B. Cobb. Mr. Cobb came to

Lynn from Methuen about the year 1835. His early education was extremely limited, the woods of Maine, where he spent his early days, not affording very ample facilities in the way of public schools. He established himself as a shoe manufacturer, and was noted throughout the town for the taste he showed in the styles of the boots and shoes he manufactured, and more especially for the honest quality of his goods. Mr. Cobb took a lively interest in all local and public matters, and was always ready to express his opinion upon the policy of any line of action, whether town, State, or national. He had full confidence in the soundness of his opinions, and expressed himself with an assurance that convinced the listeners of his sincerity, whatever the force of the logic might be upon the minds of the audience. Mr. Cobb was not a wide reader, but he kept himself tolerably informed upon current topics; and when this club was formed, or soon after, he became one of its most active members. Mr. Cobb kept a sharp lookout for breaches of parliamentary law. His prompt and emphatic "I call the gentleman to order" was often the signal for a discussion, or a "running fire" upon points of order that was often amusing, and sometimes instructive. Cushing's Manual had not then made its appearance, and "Jefferson's Manual," the only authority at the time, was then a very scarce book in town; but some of the members had been to the

Legislature, which often led to a large display of knowledge which did not usually discriminate between parliamentary law and the practice of legislative bodies determined by special rules. If the chair decided adversely to Mr. C., then he was ready to make an appeal, and more than ready to debate it. This, perhaps, would be the beginning of a parliamentary episode. Two or three other motions would be made, and everything would get tangled all up. Then somebody, with the towering ambition to air his knowledge and cut the Gordian knot at the same time, would move the previous question. Then, perhaps, the Chairman would get equally tangled up in trying to decide what the previous question was to which the motion applied. Then two or three members would come to his rescue, especially if he was fresh in his experience as a presiding officer. Then, finally, if the hour was late, some one would move an adjournment, and thus end the Chairman's difficulties and the debate at the same time.

But Mr. Cobb was not only ready for a parliamentary scuffle; he was equally ready to express his opinion upon all topics, whether they arose incidentally, or in the regular order of appointment. His conservative ideas led him to look with suspicion upon reform movements, or "new fangled notions," and whenever any of these subjects came up he was ready to blow his blast. On one occa-

sion the slavery question was before the club. An abolition champion made allusion to "West India emancipation," and attempted to fortify his argument by the results of that measure. When he sat down, Mr. Cobb sprang to his feet. "Mr. President, the gentleman talks of West India emancipation. I tell him if he should read his Bible more and the *Liberator* less, he'd know more about West India emancipation." It is hardly necessary to say that an explosion followed.

Mr. George W. Mudge was an active and interested member of the club. If one could be a more positive and decided Whig than Mr. Cobb it was Mr. Mudge, who, from the time the party took its name till it went to ruins, was an intelligent advocate of its principles, and an unwavering defender of its policy. Like most of his associates, he had received nothing more than a common school education: but his natural aptness and intelligence gained for him, when quite young, a position as clerk. As a salesman he had few equals. At an early age he established himself in trade, and for several years prior to the time to which this record relates he had been at the head of a firm doing an extensive business. As a debater Mr. Mudge was a fluent, graceful speaker, and quick at repartee. He was fond of a good-humored joke, and a discussion was never tame in which he bore a prominent part. He had one of the first requisites of a

debater — he always observed the courtesies of the occasion, and no amount of warlike demonstration on the part of an opponent would ruffle his temper. He always took a lively interest in politics, and especially in those political questions having a bearing upon trade; and whenever one of these topics came before the club his friends knew where to find him. Mr. Mudge is still a smart, active man. He was born in Lynn in 1811.

There were a few members of the club who were too independent to harness themselves to any party. Mr. Perry Newhall was one of these. His antecedents were Democratic, but he had learned, even at that early day, that the high-sounding claims set forth in party platforms were to be taken with a grain of allowance. He was regarded as one of the original characters of the club. His chief characteristic was a contempt for all pretense and spread-eagle show. When there was a good chance for him to use his peculiar talent in exposing sophistry or shallowness, he made, what the frequenters of the bowling alley call a "ten strike." Mr. Newhall was hardly a graceful speaker. He had some original gestures not recognized in any manual of elocution; but they were very effective, and seemed to give momentum to the battering ram with which he assailed the bulwark of some old abuse, whose existence had been perpetuated by the avarice or ignorance of mankind. No matter how strongly

these hoary abuses were intrenched behind venerable precedents, or how massive the pillars that propped up any ancient rascality, the defenders or apologists of any form of oppression or injustice were sure to feel the weight of his battle-ax; and when he laid it down there were ruins lying round. Mr. Newhall is still living. He was born in Lynn in 1813.

Mr. Darius Barry was not the least known of the members of the club. Just the opposite of this was true. At this time he was rather a Democrat than a Whig, though rather an Independent than either. He would not deny that he was a reformer if he could be allowed to define the term. He was not an abolitionist. He did not allude to the slaves of the South, or to the blacks of the North as his "colored brethren." On the contrary, when he had occasion to use the word negro, he used it, as a good many others do, as though it was spelled with two g's. Like most of his associates in the club, he had small opportunities of education, and in common with most of them, he had not been made dizzy by being dandled in the lap of fortune. But nature had done more for him than schools could do. He was an insatiate reader, and had a memory that gave him a grip that never let go its hold. Though his attainments at that time were but slight compared with the much wider results of later years, he had then ranged a large field of inquiry,

including history, biography, travel and poetry. With most of the leading English poets he had an intimate acquaintance, and could repeat furlongs of their best lines. Though having little artistic knowledge of language, he had a command of the resources of his mother tongue that few possess; and though it is more than likely that he never wrestled with the subtleties of Brown's 26th rule of syntax, his intimate contact with the masters of English speech gave to his language that general correctness that always comes from such companionship. As a speaker, he was not graceful in his gestures, but his ready command of vigorous Saxon, and the force of his argument, gained at once the attention of the audience. It is needless to say that these qualities made him a formidable opponent in debate. Like his fellow-member, Mr. Newhall, with whom he had several points in common, he had no special reverence for antiquity; and it might be added, in parenthesis, that there are some things in modern times that would not lead him to stand a great while bare-headed on a cold day. He was as ready as the man quoted by Sidney Smith to speak disrespectfully of the North Pole, or the Equator. He had a broad humor, which improved with age. He was equally ready to take a joke as to perpetrate one, and when a debate arose that called out his peculiar powers, there was sure to be, as the boys expressed it, "a good deal of music"

Mr. Barry was born in Haverhill in 1812. In 1830 he removed to Charlestown, to work at the morocco business, and remained there two years. In 1832 he came to Lynn, and worked as an apprentice with Capt. Edward Carroll. He is still living, and as ready as ever for an intellectual tournament.

Addison Davis was another prominent member of the club. He had received a good education, and was by profession a teacher. He was a sturdy abolitionist, and had even then begun to do some service in the anti-slavery field as a lecturer. He was, perhaps, next to Mr. Hussey, the most fluent speaker in the club; and his portly figure, and energetic delivery, gave him a rank among the foremost of this renowned society. Mr. Davis, like many of his associates, had a keen eye for the ludicrous side of things, and could tell a witty anecdote by way of retort upon an opponent, that would vary the gravity of the discussion with a roar of laughter.

There were several prominent members in what might be called the *reform* ranks of the club. Among these, William Bassett held a conspicuous place. Though not a collegiate, Mr. Bassett was one of the best educated members of the society. He had a logical mind, and pursued a line of investigation with a directness that comes only from intellectual training. He was especially interested in the anti-slavery movement, and also the diet

reform, which at that time, as already mentioned, was attracting considerable attention here, as in other parts of New England. He occasionally lectured upon these topics, and his treatment of any subject he attempted to handle, together with his talents as a speaker, insured him an appreciative audience. He was an excellent reader. As a debater, he spoke clearly and to the point, and his presence always added dignity and interest to the discussions.

Dr. E. A. Kittredge will be remembered by all who ever knew him for his eccentricities, not less than his talents. He was an active member of the club, and was generally present at its meetings; and when there he was about as sure to speak as to be present, and when he spoke, he was as sure to raise a laugh as he was to open his mouth. He had a peculiar voice, which he dropped into mumbling so as to be unintelligible whenever anything of doubtful import was to be said; but his varied and multifarious gesticulations made a pantomimic representation quite as intelligible as speech, and a good deal more amusing. One of his speeches was a sort of torchlight procession — now a good deal of blazing-up, then a flickering, then an occasional going-out, then again a re-lighting, and generally attended with a cloud of smoke. When he was on the floor his hearers were on tip-toe to know what was coming next. He was an ardent anti-slavery

man, and took kindly to most of the reforms of the day. At this time he gave in his adhesion to the "Graham" theory of diet, and soon after was a zealous advocate of Priesznitz's cold water cure. He was popular as a physician, and had met with marked success. He was a racy writer, and a frequent contributor to the newspapers of Lynn, and vicinity. His signature, "Noggs," was as well known as the long hair he wore; and next to the entertainment of one of his speeches was that of reading one of his inimitable pen and ink sketches.

Our well-known fellow-citizen, James N. Buffum, hardly needs a mention here to give him a greater prominence either now or hereafter; as his record is too fully made up to need a recognition of his talents in these pages. His biography has already been written by an appreciative literary friend, a work that will give him a more conspicuous niche in the long line claiming the attention of posterity than anything that can modestly be hoped for from this brief reference to his name and talents. But as one of the leading spirits of this club he was altogether too important a factor to be passed by unnoticed, as we call the roll of its honored members. Mr. Buffum was born in North Berwick, Maine, in 1807. He got a little schooling in the winter months during his boyhood, and at the age of sixteen came to Salem to learn the carpenter's trade. During the next four years he worked part

of the time in Salem and part in Lynn. When twenty years of age, not satisfied with his meager school attainments, he left Lynn for Providence to attend the Friends' School in that city, where he remained for a single year only. This was the sum of his school instruction. He returned to Salem, and worked three years in the organ factory of the Messrs. Hook, to pay for this year's opportunity to master the elements of an English education. He shortly after came to Lynn, and was soon known as an energetic house-builder, never afraid to work, and never frightened by any difficulty that stood in his way. He got up early in the morning, and kept his eyes open all day. If anybody got ahead of him in matters of business it was not noised much about town, but it doubtless would have been if such a circumstance had leaked out. During the next ten years he probably built more houses, and structures of different kinds, in Lynn than any other man in the place, and in the meantime interested himself in more matters, public and private, than often engage the attention of a single individual. He was active in all the reform movements of the day, anti-slavery, temperance, peace, and whatever other work that had for its object the good of mankind. But it is with Mr. Buffum as a member of the club that these pages have chiefly to do. He was always present whenever his engagements made it possible, and when there was often known

to speak. Mr. Buffum was not distinguished for his reticence. He was often known to speak when called upon, and sometimes when he was not. He always carried his gun loaded, and was ready for any kind of game, and did not always wait for it to light. No man knew better than he the difference between a "hawk and a hand-saw," though he did not always distinguish between a *decoy duck* and a real one. As a debater, he rarely armed himself with special preparation, but his large knowledge of men and things, his quickness of apprehension that enabled him to seize hold of everything that could be worked up to his purpose, encased him in an armor that was well nigh invulnerable; and the faintest bugle note that sounded the gathering of hostile forces caught his ear, and found him ready for the fray. As already stated, he was the leader — if anybody was the leader — of the anti-slavery forces in the club. From youth he had an instinctive hatred of slavery, and his intimate acquaintance and companionship with the great leaders of the anti-slavery movement, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and others of less note, together with his knowledge of the general literature of the subject, furnished him a complete equipment to meet the arguments of his opponents, while his store of anecdotes and ready wit he used as a sort of light arms to harass and rout the sophist and the apologist for the "peculiar institution." In this

respect he had much of the talent for which the late President Lincoln was so famous. Sometimes a member would attempt a long-drawn and fine-spun argument based upon some hair-splitting distinction, or some subtile theory, too ethereal for this every-day world. It was then amusing to hear Mr. Buffum tell a story, or let off an epigram, that would bury the theory under the weight of its own absurdity, and swamp the theorist with a roar of laughter. Besides a large fund of anecdotes he had a stock of good humor, which often gave him an advantage over his opponents; and if he occasionally "got his bristle off" at some personal thrust or innuendo, it was only for a moment, for he was too large a man to harbor petty resentments.

Jesse Hutchinson, once so well-known in Lynn, was also a member of this club. Jesse's great forte (he was usually called Jesse) was music, and he especially excelled as a vocalist. Critics said that he had the grandest voice of all that musical family. A little earlier than this time he led the singing at the First Universalist Church on Union street, soon after that structure was built. Hiram West was there with his clarionet, Amos Fisher with his post-horn, Thomas Swan with his double bass-viol, Edwin Oliver with his violoncello, and two or three others with their flutes and violins. This was before organs were used in the churches in Lynn. Sometimes, to swell the chorus, one or two of the famous

"Hutchinson band" — Judson, John and Asa, and their sister Abbie — would be present. Then Jesse would sway his baton right and left, and then was heard such music as was probably never heard before in a New England meeting-house, and which would have horrified the Roundheads of the time of Cromwell, and scarcely less alarmed their Puritan descendants of a much later day. On a summer evening the magnificent voice of Jesse might be heard coming from the famous "Old High Rock," near which he built his cottage, and the strains of a stirring lyric from some bard of liberty, or some grand old song that has been sung through the ages, cheering the heart of saint and martyr, would break the stillness of the evening air with its entrancing melody. But this is a digression, though it is just such a digression as most of the middle-aged and elderly readers of these pages would be willing the writer should run into as often as he chooses. The man has not made his appearance who could describe Jesse as a debater. He was spasmodic, volcanic, erratic, and occasionally prophetic, by turns. His nervous temperament gave him a sensitive organization that was "tremblingly alive" to every influence with which he came in contact. He entered the anti-slavery movement with his whole soul, and when a discussion arose on this question he was ready to uncord the vials of his wrath upon all who supported or apologized for the vile insti-

tution. His clear tenor voice was often heard in the old vestry, its high notes now ringing a sonorous invective against the oppressor of the poor and weak, and now melting into pathos as he pictured the sufferings of some starving fugitive from the prison-house of slavery, as by night the north star led him to the gates of freedom, or as by day

> "In the dark top of Southern pines,
> He nestled when the driver's horn
> Called to the field in lengthening lines,
> His fellows at the break of morn."

"I tell you, Mr. President, this must come to an end. Just as sure as God reigns, this unrighteous system will be swept away. Brothers, the morning light is breaking, the day is at hand. Let us work for it, and hasten its coming." And so he went on, warning, exhorting, and prophesying like some ancient seer or Hebrew prophet. But Jesse had other talents besides the gift of song, and the power of eloquence. He had the poet's tongue of fire, and sung his own stirring lyrics with a skill that called out a storm of applause from delighted audiences.

James P. Boyce, one of the founders of the club, and one of its most interested members, deserves recognition here as a sturdy reformer of the plain-spoken Quaker school. He was born in Lynn in 1805, and received the ordinary education given to

boys at that time. Like most men born in New England early in the century, his health was not undermined by luxurious living, and in some conversation with him relating to this subject the writer inferred that he was not often confused by the number of courses set before him for breakfast. On the contrary, the simplicity of the Indian "Johnny-cake" left him free to run out, if he so chose, any mathematical problem that might engage his attention. As a debater, Mr. Boyce always spoke clearly and to the point; sometimes bluntly, always honestly, without ornament or ostentation. In matters involving moral principles, he was never a believer in what is called expediency, but believed in going straight to the mark without subterfuge or circumlocution. He had a keen sense of the ludicrous, and it was not often necessary for him to call the next day upon the perpetrator of a joke to get his meaning.

Benjamin F. Mudge was an active member of this club. Mr. Mudge was born in Orrington, Maine, in 1817. His parents moved to Lynn during the following year, and, as a matter of convenience, took their son with them. He here received a common school education, and at the age of fourteen learned the shoemaker's trade, at which he worked four years. He then worked in the shoe manufactory of Joseph M. Nye two years, as a cutter. In 1837 he again attended school for a

short time, and then fitted for college, graduating in 1840. He then studied law for two years in the office of J. C. Stickney; was admitted to the bar, and began the practice of law just about the time to which this record relates. Mr. Mudge was an easy, pleasing speaker, though having a somewhat peculiar intonation of voice. He was always gentlemanly and courteous in his bearing, and spoke sensibly and to the point. Mr. Mudge took a special interest in scientific pursuits, particularly geology, and was at this time, and in following years, a member of other societies that had a more scientific basis than was claimed for the old Silsbee Street Club. He was elected second Mayor of Lynn in 1852, following Mr. Hood in that office. It is proper to mention here that four members of the club have sat in the Mayor's chair — Messrs. Hood, Mudge, Baker and Buffum — and others it is presumed were willing to sit there, as they gave their fellow-citizens an opportunity to vote for them, which many did, but not enough.

William A. Clough was a member with decided Democratic proclivities. This is hardly putting the case strong enough. He had more than *tendencies* toward the views held by the Democratic party; but was rather emphatic in his avowal and defense of his political faith. His surroundings were as decidedly Whig; but he never failed to maintain his side against whatever odds, whether that odds

was expressed in superiority of numbers or in weight of influence. Mr. Clough was not so often heard in the debates as many others; but whenever he did speak there was a directness and point to what he said that commanded attention. His forte was in less public discussions, in store, or work-shop, or perhaps in the old Town Hall, among a knot of equally ardent politicians, when some important question, local or national, was agitating the public mind. He was then, as the phrase was, "enough" for two or three Whigs.

There were other young members of the club who bore a prominent part in these discussions. Some of these removed from town soon after the disorganization of the society, and others died in early life.

In preceding pages the writer has alluded to the range that discussion took; but mention has been made chiefly to grave questions of State policy, or of reform movements having a national significance. Besides these grave questions there were numerous minor topics, or "*isms*," each of which had its adherents and supporters. "Grahamism" was one of these. This was a movement in the interest of dietetic reform. Its leader in this country was Dr. Sylvester Graham — hence the name given to his system, and to its advocates. The principle tenet of his system was abstinence from animal food, and the substitution of bread made from unbolted wheat

in place of the common kind made from superfine flour. It was argued that from flesh eating and the use of bread made from fine flour arose well-nigh all the evils that "flesh is heir to," to use a quotation that some readers may have met with before. From the general propositions laid down by this diet reformer came forth various vagaries. Some advocated an exclusively fruit diet. Others an exclusively vegetable diet. Some thought cold baked potatoes about the right article, varied, perhaps, by something else equally cold and indigestible; and cold water was generally recommended in place of tea and coffee. "Col. Sellers" had not then given to turnips their high repute as an article of diet; but respecting the "cold water," these reformers anticipated Col. Sellers by more than thirty years. A debate on the diet question in the Silsbee Street Club was well worth attending. Here were members with extreme views on this, as well as on all other questions; and here were some who held on to their old opinions with a grip that nothing but an ingrained conservatism can give.

REPORT OF A DEBATE IN THE SILSBEE STREET DEBATING CLUB.

The following reports of debates are designed to show the characteristics of the members, and the general spirit of the discussions which took place,

not only in the Silsbee Street Club, but in similar institutions which were for the most part a sort of off-shoot from the parent stock, and which were made up in part of some of the most noted members of the old club. It is not claimed that they are verbatim reports taken by some short-hand process, or elaborated from notes taken on the spot. They are rather the embodied impressions indelibly stamped upon the writer's mind by constant attendance upon the meetings of the club, and an intimate personal acquaintance with many of its members. First — when quite young — as a spectator, and afterward as an active member of some five or six different societies, formed for mutual improvement, and the discussion of the great questions of the day, he became intimately associated with the members of these societies, some of whom, with him, had a connection with the different organizations as they followed through successive years. Without further note or explanation he will give what may be taken as a sample of these debates, leaving it for living witnesses — of whom there are many — to tell how faithfully, or otherwise, he has drawn the picture.

The question before the club was — "Has a person a right to partake of animal food?" This was amended by adding the words "under ordinary circumstances."

The President has stated the question, and the discussion proceeds.

"Mr. President — I shall speak on the negative of this question. If folks only knew half as much as I do about this matter, they 'd know better than to cram themselves with all sorts of stuff — roast turkey, (those that can afford to get it, I can't,) lamb, beef, roast pork, (there 's stuff for a man to eat,) mince pies, doughnuts, (I do n't wonder people are sick,) sausages, hot bread, (I suppose some of you eat sausages and saleratus bread,) baked beans, (they generally eat them Sundays,) and all sorts of miserable trash that 's no more fit to eat than — well, I can't do justice to this subject. Then there 's coffee; do you suppose that 's fit to drink? You ought to see how doctors live; you 'd learn something from them. There 's brother Cobb; I suppose he does n't believe what I 'm talking about." "I call the gentleman to order. I believe it 's not parliamentary to call gentlemen by name." "I beg pardon, Mr. President, I did n't mean to be unparliamentary, but you know I have to talk in my own way. If brother Cobb only knew — " "I call — " "Do n't fret, brother, I 'm almost through. Let 's see, where was I? I 've lost the thread of my speech; but it 's no consequence, so I 'll sit down before I make a fool of myself. There 's brother Buffum, he wants to speak."

Another member rises. "Mr. President — The

gentleman speaks about roast turkey and pork and lamb hurting folks. I guess they 're hurt more for want of 'em. I eat turkey and pork, and mince pies, and I never got hurt by 'em. I was brought up in the *woods*, in the *back woods*, *where they eat bears' grease*. The gentleman says he does n't wonder people are sick. Does he suppose they would n't be sick if they were to live on Graham bread and boiled carrots? How came Graham to know so much more than other folks? I 've ate meat all my life, and I expect to for a good while to come. So far as I know, people always ate meat. The gentleman talks about posterity. What does posterity know about this question? I 'd like to hear some better reason for eating bran bread than any I 've heard yet."

"Mr. President"—"Mr. President." "The voice of Mr. —— struck my ear first," responds the President.

"Mr. President — It will be admitted by every one that understands the merits of this question that the evils of over-eating are among the most serious that afflict mankind. What is the great temptation to over-eating? It is luxurious living. Simple diet would be a cure for all this. Instead of a half-dozen dishes in which acids, fats, and alkalies mix and mingle, laying the foundations of a thousand diseases that come from indigestion, we should have a few plain articles of food that would not

tempt the appetite to excess. High-seasoned dishes and dainty food tickle the palate, and so lead to gormandizing, and all the evils that follow in its train. There are, besides, other evils that grow out of this false system of living. It entails a needless expense and makes slaves of women who perform the worse than useless labor of elaborately prepared dishes. Will anybody pretend that all this is necessary for the health and comfort of mankind? There are many notable instances on record of men who have abstained from animal food, and confined themselves to a vegetable or farinaceous diet, and who attained a great age, and maintained a high degree of health. But we have not only individual examples, there are whole nations who rarely, or never, eat animal food. The millions of India subsist almost entirely on rice. The Arabs, fine specimens of men physically, live largely on dates and figs, and rarely taste of the flesh of animals. Mr. President, I have tested this matter in my own experience. No one liked better than I a good turkey dinner; but I have realized the benefits of a simple diet. I sometimes make a breakfast of cold baked potatoes, or some single article of plain food, and nothing else. When the advantages of this simple way of living are better understood, we shall see people abandon the old, injurious and expensive habits that have so long prevailed. But I will give way for others."

Two or three members by this time are on their feet, when the President announces that Mr. —— has the floor.

"Mr. President — I want to say a few words on this subject. Every once in a while some *ism* or *ology* will come along, and these reformers, as they call themselves, will get hold of it and suppose they are going to turn the world inside out. There is this Grahamism we hear so much about lately. I suppose Graham thinks if he can get people to eat bran bread and carrots that everything will be fixed all right. Let us look at this thing, Mr. President, in the light of common sense. Did you ever know a nation that amounted to anything that ever lived on any such miserable fodder? It may do for a horse or a donkey; a donkey, you know, 'll eat thistles. The gentleman tells about the rice-eating millions of India. Well, that 's a good illustration. What does the whole set of 'em amount to? India shows marks of an ancient civilization, ruins of temples, and vast works of art; but they did n't live on rice then, I 'll warrant you. They had something to eat. Do you suppose the men that planned and built the pyramids lived on rice or baked potatoes? I guess not. Or the old Greeks of the time of Homer? Or the old Romans? Just imagine, Mr. President, a Roman army fed on Graham gingerbread. Then there 's the old Saxon race from which we sprang; they ate everything

they could lay their hands on, and drank, too, for that matter. This talk about the millions that live on rice is all 'bosh.' Why, a regiment of beef-eating English soldiers would scare an army of 'em. England has already got half their territory away from them, and she 'll steal the other half before long. But, Mr. President, what authority is there for this Graham theory? You can't find any. Does Galen, or Hippocrates, or Dr. Rush, or Bichat, or Abernethy, or Carpenter, or anybody else, ancient or modern, who is acknowledged as authority, support this theory? Of course not. *This Graham ought to have a monument of brown bread crust.* I 'd like to say something on this subject if I had time."

Among the members of the Silsbee Street Debating Club, the name of George W. Keene is too conspicuous to be omitted, though he did not take so prominent a part in the discussions as some others. Mr. Keene was hardly aggressive enough, or, as the phrenologists would express it, had hardly "combativeness" enough to qualify him for a first-class debater; but he was an easy speaker, courteous in his manner, and had a prepossessing personal appearance. He was often called upon to preside at Lyceums, and other public occasions, which he always did with dignity and general acceptance.

Occasionally the meetings of the club would be graced with the presence of visitors somewhat distinguished even then, and who afterwards acquired a wide celebrity. Frederick Douglass, Charles Lennox Remond, Parker Pillsbury, Henry Clapp, Henry G. Wright — an English gentleman — and other persons of note and influence. Mr. Douglass lived in Lynn about this time. He was not then the polished orator that he has since become, but even at that early day he gave promise of the grand part he was to play in the conflict which was to end in the destruction of the system that had so long cursed his race. He was more than six feet in height, and his majestic form, as he rose to speak, straight as an arrow, muscular, yet lithe and graceful, his flashing eye, and more than all, his voice, that rivaled Webster's in its richness, and in the depth and sonorousness of its cadences, made up such an ideal of an orator as the listeners never forgot. And they never forgot his burning words, his pathos, nor the rich play of his humor. He had just escaped from the "house of bondage;" and as he recited his experience as a slave, his sufferings as he grew old enough to realize the bitterness of his lot, his alternate hope and despair as he attempted to lift the vail of the future — his eyes would now flash with defiance, and now grow dim with emotions he could not control; and the roll of

his splendid voice, as he hurled his denunciations against the infamous system, would pass to the minor key whose notes trembled on his tongue. Then with inimitable mimicry he would give a droll recital of some ludicrous scene in his experience as a slave, or with bitter sarcasm he would tell a tale of insult offered by some upstart who fancied he held his title to manhood by the whiteness of his skin; and then again, with flashing eye, he would hurl his indignant denunciation at "wickedness in high places," against men who, under the pretended sanction of religion, defended the "infernal institution" whose horrors had filled his days with dread, and his night dreams with terror. An incident, which the writer heard him relate in his peculiar manner, half amusing, and half indignant at the outrage he had suffered, occurred about this time. Its recital will sound strangely some years hence. These were the days when "negro cars" were on our railroads. Mr. Douglass, and his friend, James N. Buffum, having purchased their tickets, entered one of the cars, not taking special pains to get into the negro car. It was on the Eastern Railroad, and they were bound for Newburyport. The conductor came along, and spying Mr. Douglass, asked him what he was in that car for. Mr. Douglass replied in substance that he wanted to go to a certain place, and thought that the most direct

way. The conductor ordered Mr. Douglass to leave. Mr. Douglass assured the conductor that he was satisfied with his seat, and excused himself from accepting the invitation. The conductor called to his aid two or three brakemen, who proceeded to make a demonstration that looked as though Mr. Douglass was to be taken from the car without gaining the consent of his will, or the aid of his limbs. It was amusing to hear Mr. Douglass relate this part of the scene. "When they took hold of me," said Mr. Douglass, with a broad grin, "I felt my hands instinctively clutch the arms of the seat where I sat, and I seemed to be very firmly attached to the place." But two or three stout brakemen were too much for young Douglass, though he had the grip of a giant; or rather, they were too strong to deal with the kind of car furniture then in use. Douglass left the car, and left behind him an empty space in one end of it where seats *had been*. This was before nitro-glycerine was known; otherwise, one might have supposed that a small can of that article had exploded in that end of the car. This was near the middle of the nineteenth century.

Henry Clapp sometimes spoke in the club. Besides being one of the most pungent and racy writers of the day, he had speaking talent of a high order. Few extemporaneous speakers could put a sentence

together so compactly as he. He was aggressive and denunciatory in his style, and his vocabulary of invective was Shakesperean in its range.

There were others hardly less deserving of mention, notice of whom, at this time, would carry me beyond the limits assigned to this volume.

LITERARY SOCIETIES OF LYNN.

When the writer began the foregoing sketch of the Silsbee Street Society his purpose was simply to present some of the leading features of an organization somewhat marked in its characteristics, and which gave it a local fame beyond that hitherto gained by any similar association. But this work expanded on his hands, and its significance in illustrating the literary aspects of our ancient town, and its important bearing upon the education of our community, led him to give a greater prominency to this peculiar phase of intellectual activity as it has shown itself in our midst. While the debating society, or "lyceum," as it is often called, is an American, and more especially a New England, institution, similar societies have existed among us to such a degree that they may be regarded as a peculiar product of our community. Within the last half century hardly less than a score of these societies, some of them in active operation for many years — and several of them simultaneously — have been organized within the limits of Lynn; while

others having a briefer existence followed each other through successive years.

In West Lynn there were several of these societies, and many of our prominent citizens were members. Hon. George Hood, Hon. Thomas B. Newhall, James R. Newhall, the historian, Rev. F. P. Tracy, Rev. Joel S. Bacon, Jeremiah C. Stickney, and some others, belonged to an association known as the "Franklin Club." It was organized in 1836 or '37.

An association specially worthy of mention was formed in 1842. This was called the "Natural History Society." Its purpose was to encourage the study of natural history, and to this end a collection of minerals, and curiosities in every department of this science, was made by the members, and others interested in promoting this branch of knowledge. Its membership included a large number of our professional men, especially physicians. Dr. William Prescott was specially active in organizing this movement, and with him were associated Drs. James M. Nye, Daniel Perley, Joseph B. Holder, Charles O. Barker, Edward L. Coffin and Asa T. Newhall. Besides these gentlemen of the medical profession, the following well-known citizens gave their time and influence to advance the interests of the society, Thomas B. Newhall, James R. Newhall, Benjamin F. Mudge, William B. Oliver, and many others, who contributed more or

less to the success of the movement. The membership of this society was very large. A course of lectures was given, soon after the association was formed, by several of the above-named gentlemen.

Another society called the "Social Union" was formed in 1843. Each member was assigned some special work. One lectured on natural philosophy, another on chemistry, a third on geology, and a fourth on history, and so on round the circle of members. Some members gave special attention to music, and wrote the musical compositions performed at the meetings of the society, others wrote the hymns that were sung. Each meeting was opened with singing, and the musical exercises were confined to the compositions of members. This society held its meetings weekly, and each member was expected to do his part. One evening in each month was given to a lecture, two were devoted to debates, and the fourth to miscellaneous exercises. Each member presided in turn, and performed certain other duties that were supposed to be specially valuable as a means of drill. Membership in this society meant study, and no one was allowed to shirk his duties. The following well-known citizens were the leading members of this society, the late Stephen D. Poole, Cyrus M. Tracy, John C. Houghton, Rev. George W. Rogers and Rev. Oliver S. Howe. Several others, less prominent, did their part of the work, and shared the

benefits of this well-organized association. Measured by results, this society did a great work for its members. It was not only a debating society, it was a school in the broadest sense; one in which the moral, mental, and social faculties were constantly disciplined.

In 1850 an association was formed in the same section of the town which took the name of "The Exploring Circle." It was scientific rather than literary in its character, though its members cultivated all fields of inquiry. It was specially devoted to the investigation of topics of local interest in Lynn, and in the immediate neighborhood — geological, historical, and antiquarian researches, old roads, old houses, and ancient landmarks, and every question illustrating the history, manners, customs, traditions, as well as the political, religious, educational, and social condition of the people who settled here some two centuries and a half ago — all these subjects received attention at the hands of the members, who gave at their semi-monthly meetings, reports of their investigations.

This society took an annual excursion to some locality in the neighborhood having a scientific or historical interest; and whatever was gathered on these occasions was made to contribute, in some way, to the general good of the whole. The four original members were Stephen D. Poole, Cyrus M. Tracy, John C. Houghton and Joseph M.

Rowell. To these names were afterward added Gardiner Tufts, Edward Poor, Samuel Guilford, George W. Rogers, Wilbur F. Newhall, Edward Johnson, Jr., William P. Sargent, John T. Moulton, David N. Johnson and Albert S. Rowell. This society still keeps up its organization. It is the oldest literary association in the city, having had an existence of thirty consecutive years.

Soon after the Washingtonian movement of 1840 several debating societies sprang up, having for their main object the discussion of the temperance question. The existence of many of these was of short duration, several following successively during the next ten years.

About 1849 a society called "The Gnomologian Society" was formed — mostly by young men of West Lynn. Its officers were — President, Theodore Attwill; Vice-President, David N. Johnson; Secretary, Nathaniel H. Stevenson; Treasurer, Edward Johnson, Jr.; Editor, Nathaniel J. Holden. The following gentlemen were also members of this Society: Charles C. Spinney, Samuel Spinney, James E. Oliver, Charles H. Aborn, Thomas P. Nichols, Daniel C. Holder and John Jameson.

Somewhat later than 1850 an organization known as the "Adams Association" was formed, composed, for the most part, of the members of the old Silsbee Street Club. This had a short but brilliant career.

THE YOUNG MEN'S DEBATING SOCIETY.

This Society was organized on the 28th of September, 1852. The meeting for organization was held in the vestry of the Silsbee Street Church, before mentioned as the headquarters of the old Silsbee Street Club, and the record states that it was called by members of the "Old Gnomologian Society"—an organization then recently disbanded. The record is not clear as to the number or names of those present, but the writer's recollection, and the allusions made in the minutes, enable him to give the following alphabetical list as—in all probability—the persons having the honor of founding this institution: Theodore Attwill, David N. Johnson, Edward Johnson, Henry Moore, James E. Oliver, Charles A. Shorey, Nathaniel H. Stevenson and Gardiner Tufts. At this meeting, Theodore Attwill was chosen Chairman, and John H. Crosman, Secretary. On motion of David N. Johnson, a committee was chosen to draw up a constitution, and this committee reported a constitution and by-laws at the next meeting, and the same were accepted. The following list shows the roll of members, as their names stand on the journal of the society, containing the records of the first two years—President, Nathaniel J. Holden; Secretary, John H. Crosman; Treasurer, Edward Johnson; officers for the first six months; Phillip A. Chase, David N. Johnson,

James E. Oliver, Lyman I. Holcomb, Samuel A. Wood, Charles A. Shorey, T. F. Noyes, George A. Crosman, Charles A. Taber, George A. Hood, Nathaniel H. Stevenson, Theodore Attwill, William H. Barry, Sidney C. Bancroft, Gilbert Hawkes, Abner C. Goodell, John R. Hunt, John Jameson, John Winslow, William A. Attwill, Joseph A. Steele, A. Osgood Attwill, Joseph Davis 2d, F. M. McCutcheon, A. P. Pierce, Walter B. Allen, Eben Parsons, William A. Frothingham and Jesse L. Attwill. Still later, many others joined this society — among them Nathan Clark, David H. Sweetser, John A. Sweetser and William Lloyd Garrison, Jr., — until the membership included not less than fifty persons. Several in the above list had been members of the High School, which sent out its first graduating class in 1852, and which was followed through the successive years of this period by a class increasing from fifteen to thirty members annually.

As already intimated, several members of the Silsbee Street Club belonged, in after years, to other societies of a similar character. Hence, we find a few names of the most prominent individuals of this older society on the list of honorary membership, preserved in the records of the Young Men's Debating Society; and several others were accustomed to attend its meetings, and take part in its debates. Among those who, as honorary

members, or as visitors participating in the discussions, were several of our foremost citizens, some of whom, in after years, held high official positions. Most of the following names will be recognized outside the limits of our city: Hon. John B. Alley, Hon. Edwin Walden, Col. Gardiner Tufts, Hon. James N. Buffum, Prof. Benjamin F. Mudge, Prof. Charles C. Shackford and Addison Davis.

If the writer were to assert that this society had more talent than was found in the old Silsbee Street Club, a fierce growl of dissent would, doubtless, be heard from some of the veterans of this famous institution; but it cannot be denied that there was more scholarship and general culture among its members. Here were found college graduates, college students, and, in the later years of the society, not less than a score of High School graduates. The discussions were marked by a closer observance of parliamentary rules, and some of the experts in this science were willing to debate points of order, irrespective of time, place, or weather. An elaborate order of exercises regulated the proceedings of each meeting, and standing committees were appointed to report topics for discussion. A manuscript paper, called "Our Oracle," was read monthly, containing the wit and wisdom of members, displayed in essays, wise and otherwise, hair-splitting metaphysics, mathematics the most ab-

struse, conundrums which everybody gave up at once, and various indescribable compositions, each line beginning with a capital, and ending with a word that rhymed with some other. This was called poetry. It ranged from the vilest doggerel up to a kind that was never mistaken for Milton's. The debates of this society were often attended by crowded audiences. On anniversary occasions an extensive programme of exercises was carried out. One of these anniversaries was held in 1856, in Sagamore Hall, then the largest hall in the city, next to the Lyceum Hall, built in 1841. The large audience assembled expressed the highest satisfaction with the various exercises, which included an oration, a poem by one of the members, and the reading of "Our Oracle" by the editor. If the testimony of those present, and of the press, is to be taken, the members who took part in this performance had no reason to complain.

This society run its course through the stormiest period of the anti-slavery controversy. The passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill, in 1850, and the angry discussions that attended it — the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, in 1854, and the assault on Charles Sumner, in the Senate chamber, in 1856, roused the nation, and arrayed the North and the South in hostile attitude against each other. It is not surprising, therefore, that this question was

often discussed by members of the club, and that a debate somewhat like the following was frequently heard.

A DEBATE IN THE YOUNG MEN'S CLUB.

The question is one declaring the justice and expediency of the immediate abolition of slavery. The president has stated the question, and announced the speaker who was to open the debate.

"Mr. President — The resolution before us states a self-evident proposition, and but little time is needed to set forth truths that appeal to the common instincts of mankind. What right has one man to enslave another? The question carries its own answer with it. Is it because the slave is black, and ignorant, and defenceless, and his oppressor white, educated, and powerful? The common sense of mankind revolts at the base suggestion. On what other grounds can the system of slavery be defended? Perhaps we shall hear that political expediency is sufficient to justify its perpetuity, or, at least, is sufficient reason to resist its sudden overthrow. But political expediency is not sufficient to justify such an utter perversion of justice. Slavery is the embodiment of every villainy. Nothing can justify it. But it is needless to debate a proposition so self-evident. I will give way for my opponent."

The president announces that Mr. —— has the floor, as the member appointed in the negative.

"Mr. President — It is time that this question was discussed on its merits. Slavery is to be justified because it is the best thing under existing circumstances — the best thing for the black man as well as for the white man. We've had enough of this sickly sentimentality about the wrongs of the slave. He is better off in slavery, because he does n't know how to take care of himself, or will not take care of himself. Look at his history! What has he ever amounted to? What sort of a figure has he cut in the world's civilization? What has he done? Nothing. He was a barbarian as far back as we ever heard of him, and wherever we find him in contact with the superior races he always appears as a menial — a hewer of wood and a drawer of water. Egyptian hieroglyphics reveal his social position as it was thousands of years ago. He there appears as the slave of his superiors: and he has done no better ever since. He has been ranging over the continent of Africa through unrecorded ages, and what monuments has he left behind him? What has he taught the world in architecture, sculpture, painting, or in any of the arts of civilization? What records has he left behind him? What has he done for law, literature, or science? Nothing. He lives in miserable huts, eats roots, and vile reptiles. He is, and always has

been, a naked, ignorant savage, and he seems to be incapable of anything above the rudest civilization. We hear great lamentations over his condition as a slave. Why, Mr. President, he never amounted to half as much in his native land. We are told that slavery breaks up the marriage relation, and we hear doleful stories of the sundering of domestic ties. What sort of marriage relations did he have in Africa? And what were his domestic ties? All this talk about the African's sensibilities in these matters is too shallow to deceive anybody that knows anything about him. He has improved by his contact with the white man, and he is immeasurably higher in the scale of being, as we find him in the Southern States, than he ever was in his native jungles. Every once in a while we hear, Mr. President, of West India emancipation, as though there was anything encouraging about that experiment. What do we see there? We see them lapsing back into utter barbarism. They are too lazy to work, and the Islands are going to ruin. Look at Jamaica; her exports fallen to almost nothing. Coffee, sugar, and other tropical products, she used to export by millions in the days of slavery. Now all there is to boast of is a certain spice that grows wild in the woods, which the blacks find time to gather, but which costs no labor to cultivate. So much for his ability to get a living unaided by the directing hand of a superior

race. In the scale of human intelligences he is a child, to be kept under tutelage. In this way, only, can he fill his place in the economy of society. But this subject is so broad, Mr. President, that in the brief time allowed me I can only touch the surface of the question. I will give way for others."

Two or three members are now on their feet, having already shouted — "Mr. President!" The floor is assigned to Mr. ——.

"Mr. President — We have listened to the gentleman's defense of the infernal system of slavery, and what does it come to? It is as good a defense as can be made, and yet what is its logic; and where does its doctrine carry us? It is the logic of the robber, and the doctrine has been the doctrine of tyrants in all ages; and where does it lead us? The strongest nation, thinking itself the most advanced in civilization, enslaves the weakest because it does not make a good show in the world's commerce, or cannot boast an ancient civilization, with its ruins of temples, and its monuments of art; and so when the weak nation cannot satisfactorily answer the question — 'What do you amount to?' — the stronger takes it 'under tutelage,' and improves its commerce, and lifts it to a higher plane of civilization by enslaving it. The old Caucasian race, of which we consider ourselves the 'bright consummate flower,' the race that built the pyramids, and filled the earth with ruins, attesting its power,

and also its decay, has been in successive centuries enslaver and enslaved, now standing on the highest pinnacle of the world's civilization, and now descending to the lowest depths of barbarism and degradation; savages who performed horrid and bloody rites, lived in the wilderness, and clothed themselves in the skins of beasts. What has the gentleman to say of his Saxon ancestors, who lived so long in the German forests that Tacitus tells they were called the 'children of the soil?' What improvement did these 'shaggy demons of the wilderness' — as Carlyle calls similar hordes of barbarians who followed Tamerlane — make through these countless centuries? What monuments did they build? What were their exports? What treasures of literature did they leave behind them? What sort of a 'figure did they cut' in the world's civilization up to the time when, emerging from their caves and dens, this horde of savages descended upon the coast of Britain? And what sort of a figure did those other barbarians cut — Goths, Huns, and Vandals, offspring of your boasted Caucasian race — up to the time when, with torch and battle-ax, they descended upon Southern Europe, and destroyed the monuments of science, literature, and art, that the civilization of fifteen centuries had bequeathed to man? I need not tell the gentleman what was the character and modes of life of these 'demons' of the forest as far back as history gives us a glimpse of

their savage life. How much was their barbarism in advance of the barbarism of the African tribes? And yet we see these Saxon, and other pirates, changed by new conditions, until at last they became leaders in the world's advancing civilization, and carved for themselves an imperishable name. The gentleman does not seem to see that he upset the foundations of his argument, when he told us how much less of a savage the African is under the tutelage of his white master in the Southern States, than he was in his 'native jungles.' If we have seen so much progress in the last two hundred years — a mere speck in the world's history — by his contact with the white man, himself degraded, as Jefferson tells us, as he always is by playing the part of a tyrant — what may we not expect to see under the most favorable conditions possible, when cycles of time shall have been added in which to work out his regeneration.

But we have had enough of this miserable mercenary logic, that weighs its coffee, and sugar, and cotton, and strikes a balance between exports and imports. The doom of slavery is sealed. The handwriting is on the wall. The civilization of the nineteenth century, that just begins to comprehend the significance of the Christian declaration, that God has made of one blood all nations to dwell on the face of the earth, has settled this question beyond the power of a mole-eyed political economy to

reverse. When the first French revolution swept slavery from the colonies of France, in obedience to the doctrine of our Declaration of Independence, the knell of slavery was struck, and its echoes were heard around the world. Toussaint taught the great Napoleon that the armies of France could not forge again the fetters of the black man. Then followed the destruction of slavery in the colonies of every commercial nation in Europe, Spain alone excepted. Does the gentleman suppose that this tide will not reach us? Are the champions of slavery so besotted with prejudice as to think that they can turn back the hand that marks the world's progress on the dial of time? The enlightenment of the nineteenth century will settle this question in the only way it can be settled — on the basis of justice, and the rights of man. The age that has given us the locomotive and the electric telegraph, an age ripe with revolutions, and above all an age that makes clearer and clearer the duties man owes to his fellow man, shall bring this 'sum of all villainies' to a speedy end, and American liberty be no longer a 'hissing and a by-word among the nations.'"

The president's hammer announces that the gentleman's time has expired. The shouting from three or four who wish to speak makes it difficult for the president to tell whose voice first struck his

ear; but he decides to give it to Mr. ——, who had not spoken.

"Mr. President — The gentleman who spoke last made a very plausible argument on his high moral ground; but it won't do. The darkey has never amounted to anything, and he never will. The gentleman on the negative put this matter right. Wherever we find the black he appears as a slave or a savage. Phrenology settles this question. Just look at this African; with his forehead sloping away on a line with the bridge of his nose. Do n't you see that all his brains, pretty much, are behind his ears? How long, do you suppose, it would take to bring him up to a level with the white man? The gentleman in the affirmative told us what progress we might expect this black race would make, judging from what he has done in the Southern States. That is easily explained. He has got some *white blood* in his veins. We hear about these smart darkeys. Why, Mr. President, they 're *half white*, you note it where you will. Your real African does n't improve. If he had, he 'd have showed it somewhere. What have they done as a race? In Africa, his home, he has always been an ignorant savage, and out of Africa he has always been a slave. What does this show? It shows that when he 's among white men he must be taken care of. If he is n't, he 'll run wild. The experiment in Jamaica, which the gentleman alluded to,

illustrates the case. It was found that all the exports there fell off except pimento, and what do you suppose the reason was that the crop of pimento did n't fall off? I 'll tell you. *It grows wild*, Mr. President, and thrives better when not cultivated; and so you see the darkeys have just gumption enough to gather it, but they 're too lazy to raise anything that needs care or work. Now, suppose you abolish slavery down South, what 'll the blacks do with themselves; or what 'll you do with them? You 'll have the biggest elephant on your hands that you ever had. But as there are a number who want to speak, Mr. President, I 'll say no more at present."

A motion is now made that all present be allowed to take part in the debate, which is carried.

The shouts of two or three members now reach the ear of the president, who decides that Mr. —— has the floor.

"Mr. President — There was something which both gentlemen, who spoke on the negative, forgot to mention when they told us about emancipation in Jamaica. They forgot to tell us that the exports of the Island began to fall off long before the emancipation of the slaves; and so, whatever that fact signifies, it is not wholly attributable to the abolition of slavery. They forgot to tell us another thing. They forgot to tell us that, while the exports fell off after the blacks obtained their freedom, the home

consumption of the Island increased. In other words, the slaves produced more coffee, sugar, and rum for export under *the lash* than they did when free; but that after they were free they got more to eat and drink, and if they labored less, they were lashed less. Who does n't know, that knows anything about this subject, that neither black man nor white man works any more than he is obliged to under the burning, enervating rays of a torrid sun? There is another thing the gentlemen forgot to tell us. They forgot to tell us that the planters, and their backers in England, did all they could to make emancipation a failure; and that as fast as these old Bourbons, who learned nothing, and forgot nothing, died off, the industry of the Island, that had been disturbed by the social revolution through which it had passed, resumed its accustomed channels."

Other members followed with short speeches, which presented almost every phase of a controversy that was agitating all sections of the country, and which found utterance through the press and pulpit, in the halls of Congress, and at political gatherings, in stores and workshops, and at the corners of the streets, and wherever men met for the interchange of opinions.

The last regular meeting of the society was held January 6th, 1859.

The "Library Association" was formed in 1855.

Soon after its organization it made provision for debates, to which the public were invited. Some of the most prominent members of the Young Men's Society, and of the Silsbee Street Club, took part in the discussions. This feature of the association continued but a short time.

In 1857 the first "Christian Association" in Lynn was organized. Thomas P. Richardson was its first president. John C. Houghton was president during the second term, followed by Stephen D. Poole. The rooms of the association were those occupied by the Library Association. There was a reading room for the use of members, containing newspapers, and a choice collection of books; and during a portion of the time, a debating society was one of the prominent features of the organization. The membership of the association was quite large, comprising many well-known citizens. It disbanded about 1870.

A literary association known as the "Athenian Club" was organized March 8th, 1858. Prominent among the members of this society were T. Harlan Breed, Samuel Gale, Jr., George D. Sargeant, Charles C. Richardson, Micajah N. Goodridge, P. W. Butler and John W. Berry. Several others, hardly less interested in its welfare, were enrolled as members of this club, whose membership included some sixty names. It had ten years of active life, running through the stormy period of the

great civil war, which furnished topics of the most exciting character for discussion at their weekly meetings. A varied programme of literary exercises was provided, including a manuscript paper. Its anniversary occasions, combining both social and literary entertainment, were marked features in its history. Its last meeting was held March 2d, 1868.

A society called the "Irish Literary Association" was organized in the spring of 1859. Its membership was made up of many of our most prominent adopted citizens. Daniel Mullen, Daniel Fenton, Patrick Lennox, Michael Donovan and Daniel Donovan were chief among the organizers of this society. Later, James Phelan, James Riley, Thomas McAloon, the Healey brothers, William Shepard, John F. Donohoe, Timothy Donovan, Patrick J. Eagan, Dennis Horgan and Edward Mahon joined the association, and gave it their support. Mr. McAloon was specially active in promoting its interests. It held weekly meetings, and its constitution provided for a varied programme of exercises. Debates, declamations, the reading of a manuscript paper, formed part of the literary entertainment. These meetings were free to the public. At the outbreak of the civil war in 1861 many members of this association enlisted in the military service, as volunteers in the Massachusetts twenty-eighth

regiment. The organization disbanded in the Fall of 1873.

The "Everett Debating Club," composed of High School graduates, was formed June, 1870. Among its leading members were John R. Baldwin, Fred P. Goldthwait, A. W. Edgerly, Frederick B. Graves, Charles J. H. Woodbury, A. B. Breed and William H. Gove. Its constitution provided for an elaborate order of exercises — debates, a manuscript paper, declamations and other literary entertainments. Their meetings were well attended, and their anniversary occasions, which displayed a high order of literary talent, attracted large audiences from the most cultivated classes in the community. Its last regular meeting was held in the Winter of 1879, but the organization is still kept up.

Several literary societies not included in the above list, and having but a short existence, have been organized during the last ten years. Associations of this character are constantly being formed, some of them, doubtless, destined to a prolonged existence.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES.

The first public library in Lynn was called the "Social Library." It was organized in 1815, but did not receive its charter from the Legislature until 1818. There was, as stated by Mr. Newhall in his History of Lynn, a "good social library here" several years before this time, but it was not, probably, so "public" in its character. It is, of course, understood that our circulating libraries, of which there have been many in Lynn during the present century, are in some sense public libraries, the distinction being that the circulating library is usually under individual control, and its operations confined within narrow limits, while the public library is an incorporated institution, having a wider sphere of action. It is in this last sense that the writer uses the term, public library.

The statute of Massachusetts permitting seven, or more, persons to form such an organization was passed in 1806. As this library association had failed to comply with all the requirements of this statute, during the three years from 1815 to 1818,

a formal meeting of the seventy-two shareholders was called, agreeably to a warrant signed by Richard Hazeltine, Alonzo Lewis, Samuel Hallowell, Josiah Newhall, Nehemiah Johnson, Timothy Johnson, Jr., and Richard Pratt, Jr. The meeting was held October, 1818. The directors for the first year (1819) were Richard Hazeltine, Ezra Mudge and Henry Newhall, and Alonzo Lewis was chosen librarian. Mr. Lewis held this post during the next seven years. He was followed by Asa U. Swinerton, who held the position for three years. Amos Rhodes followed Mr. Swinerton, holding the office some fifteen years. Mr. Rhodes was one of the most devoted friends of this institution, and was always ready to lend it a helping hand. The library at this time (1819) numbered 205 volumes; in 1829, 717 volumes; in 1835, 1012 volumes; in 1843, 1357 volumes. In 1850 the property of the Social Library, including books and furniture, was transferred to the Natural History Society — already mentioned — and this association carried on the library until 1855, when the entire property, including the books of the old Social Library, and the books and curiosities of the Natural History Society, was transferred to the Library Association on condition that said association "should not convey the property to any person or persons for private uses." The number of volumes received by the Library Association was about 2000.

The Library Association was incorporated March 24th, 1855. Quite a large number of books was added to the library while it was in the hands of this association, and the patronage of the institution was much increased. On the 14th of April, 1862, the entire property of the association, including the books and collection of curiosities, was transferred to the city. The transfer was made on condition that the books should never be disposed of for any private use, but should serve as a nucleus for a Free Public Library. The number of books at the time of the transfer was 3824. Soon after — December 28th — the Christian Association presented its library — a small but choice selection of 276 volumes.

The formation of the present *Free* Public Library seems to have grown out of the action of the Library Association in transferring its books to the city. The project was definitely brought before the public in the inaugural of Peter M. Neal, mayor of the city in 1862. In his message of that year he says:

"Our city ought to have been among the first to give to its large and increasing reading community the benefits of such a library."

An ordinance of the city, passed August 20th, 1862, provided that nine trustees "shall have the sole charge, care, superintendence, and management of the books, and other property, conveyed to

the city of Lynn, by the Lynn Library Association, for the purpose of establishing in said city a Free Public Library, and of any additions thereto."

The library went into operation at once. The library committee purchased 1048 volumes, making the whole number for public use 6042. The following gentlemen constituted the first board of trustees — President, Charles B. Holmes; Secretary, William A. Brown; Treasurer, Ezra W. Mudge; John C. Houghton, David N. Johnson, Stephen N. Richardson, Charles C. Shackford, Amos P. Tapley; members *ex officio*, Peter M. Neal and Jesse L. Attwill. During the eighteen years since the establishment of the library 22,000 volumes have been added, including the small number given by individuals, being an average of little less than 1300 volumes annually.

THE ENGINE COMPANIES OF LYNN.

For most of the facts and figures contained in the following history of our fire department, and especially for those pertaining to the early years of its organization, the writer is indebted to Joseph M. Rowell, whose researches in all matters relating to the origin and growth of the several fire companies, running through a period of more than eighty years, have been guided by an intelligent appreciation of the great interests represented in this branch of the public service. As an active member, and chief officer, of one of the organizations for many years, and afterward as chief engineer of the department, he became possessed of a complete knowledge of its requirements, and was foremost in advocating a wise and comprehensive policy. His reports are characterized by a breadth of view, as well as a mastery of details, that gave them more than the passing interest of the period to which they relate, and which invested them with a historic value that it is not easy to estimate. The improvements that have been made in the means and appliances de-

signed for the preservation of property against the ravages of fire as clearly illustrate the progress of the last fifty years as anything that can be seen in that era of mechanical and industrial revolution.

The first engine used in Lynn was numbered 1, as might be supposed, and named "Relief." It was purchased in 1797 with money raised by subscription, and the record states that the names of Andrews Breed and Dr. James Gardiner were chief among the contributors. Timothy Munroe, Sr., was chosen its first captain. A small building was built on the common, a little northwest of what is now the Frog Pond, and the new machine was placed therein, and gazed at by a good many citizens of that early time. If any one who wanted to see it had waited until it was taken out by the "boys" on an alarm of fire, he might have waited several years, or at least a few, before a chance happened that would test its wondrous powers. A burning house was much rarer at that time than a flood, and the inhabitants of the low lands had more occasion for a dory than for fire buckets and engines. The engine was built by the father of Stephen Thayer. It had a four-inch cylinder, with a ten-inch stroke, giving it a capacity of one hundred and twenty-five cubic inches.

The young man of the present day has little idea of the performance of an engine like this; and those familiar with the comparatively powerful machines

in use just before the introduction of the steam fire engine, would have smiled to see this good-sized box on its way to a fire, drawn by a dozen men, and as many more chasing it with leather buckets. But at that day probably a much larger proportion of the inhabitants of the town, old and young, turned out to see it, than now turns out to see Barnum's circus, or a parade of the Eighth Regiment. There were but two such chances to smile for the next nine years. The first was some two years after its appearance in town, when the barn of Micajah Newhall was struck by lightning, in August, 1799, and set on fire and totally destroyed. This barn was near the corner of South Common and Vine streets. History informs us that No. 1 was on hand, and did good service in protecting the adjacent buildings. The second was on August 18th, 1803, when it run to Nahant to aid in putting out the fire occasioned by the burning of the hotel belonging to Capt. Joseph Johnson; but it did not arrive soon enough to do any good.

No other great event bearing on the interest of the department occurred until 1806, when a new interest seems to have been awakened by a question growing out of military duty required of the citizen. In order to have a clear understanding of this matter, it is necessary to state that in 1786 an act was passed by the legislature of Massachusetts exempting engine men from military service to the

number of fifteen men for each company. The population of Lynn — including at the time Lynnfield, Nahant, Saugus, and Swampscott — was increasing very fast, and had risen from 2837, in 1800, to 4087, in 1810. Within these limits a regiment of militia was already formed under the command of Col. Mansfield. A number of young men in what is now Lynn city, equipped and formed themselves into a company of light infantry. They applied to the colonel for admission into the regiment. It was understood that some encouragement had been given them, and the colonel promised to lay their application before the board of officers at their next meeting. When the day of meeting came the colonel opposed the whole project, and the application was refused. The applicants were, of course, indignant, and looked about for some channel in which to expend their surplus wrath. To "spite Joel" — to use a phrase current some years afterward — they became active in the formation of four more fire companies, which were organized in the next six months.

No. 2 was first organized by the choice of John Mudge as captain, and four hundred and twenty dollars ($420) were raised to purchase an engine. It was built by the father of the firm of Hunneman & Co., and had a three-inch cylinder and fifteen-inch stroke. It had four quarter-brakes, which were placed parallel to the line of the lever or beam,

and on these were hung the buckets. When the brakes were worked they were pulled out to give a better leverage — the tallest man working on the outer end. The engine was paid for October 11th, 1806. A small house was built over the canal on Federal street to receive it. An elegant sign over the door told the passer-by that engine No. 2, named the "Despatch," was within, at least when not outside discharging the special duty for which it was constructed. It also represented, the historian, (Mr. Rowell,) informs us, a company running to a fire dressed in the height of fashion, including ruffle-bosomed shirts and white gloves, the captain having in addition buff breeches and white-topped boots. The historian intimates that this was probably designed to give dignity to the association, and that their ideas had not been modified by practice. One can imagine how those "white gloves" would have looked, and especially those "topped boots," after the wearers had run three or four miles through "Black Marsh" mud seventy years ago, and had handled a few charred timbers, and had been drenched through three or four times with muddy water. But perhaps that suit was for a firemen's muster.

In December, 1806, "Reliance," No. 3, was purchased of Mr. Hunneman by Samuel Chase. It cost four hundred and twenty dollars, and was similar in construction to No. 2, and of the same

capacity. A house similar to those already built was erected on the spot where, several years after, the large engine house was erected for the same company. This was near the site of Breed & Holder's coal office, on Broad street, a few rods eastward of the fine brick edifice erected for the accommodation of steamer No. 4, in 1878. Amos Breed was chosen captain of the old No. 3.

On February 27th, 1807, "Perseverance," No. 4, was bought for the special accommodation of Glenmere — then Gravesend. It was of the same pattern as Nos. 2 and 3, and its cost the same. It was sold by Mr. Hunneman to Robert Mansfield. The house built for its accommodation was on Maple street, where it stood until it was replaced by a larger structure built near the same spot. Epes Mansfield was chosen captain.

About the same date "Eclipse," No. 5, was bought by John Ingalls of Mr. Hunneman. It was of the same pattern as those already purchased, and Abner Ingalls was chosen its captain. The engine house was on the south side of Village Square. This was the last engine purchased for a long time, and the historian remarks that the Fire Department of Lynn, as it was constituted for several years, was complete. From figures furnished Mr. Rowell by the Messrs. Hunneman, it seems that the four engines purchased by Lynn were numbered on their books as 12, 14, 15, and 16,

which shows that these engines were among the first built at that famous establishment.

The next opportunity for active service was on October 31st, 1808, when the barn of Theodore Breed was set on fire by a boy — as was supposed — and nearly destroyed. Four days after, the barn of Jacob Chase, near the corner of North Common and Franklin streets, was nearly destroyed, and would have been wholly consumed, had it not been for the service rendered by the Fire Department. The same incendiary, it was supposed, set this on fire. So unusual a circumstance, at that time, created a great excitement.

In 1811 the number of each company was increased from fifteen to twenty-five. This was a new era in another particular. No. 5 established the precedent of having an annual supper, at which every member was expected to be present or pay a fine of one dollar and fifty cents. This expedient probably brought out all the company who were not under the doctor's hands. The historian observes that the war with Great Britain, in 1812, put a damper on this arrangement, as no recurrence of this festival appears on the record until after the close of the war.

In 1814 the several engine companies were invited by the "fire wards" to test their machines near the (then) new Methodist Church at the head of the Common. No. 5 was pronounced the "best

engine in town." This was, doubtless, the beginning of a custom which, in later days when rivalry among the several companies had reached its highest pitch, would draw a larger crowd than anything else except an old-fashioned muster. This crowd gathered — we will suppose — twenty years ago, would have smiled audibly to see these five "tubs" heat up the enthusiasm of their members to fever point as they pumped out several gallons of water a minute, while as much more was poured in from the leather fire-buckets passed along from hand to hand from the nearest well.

Enoch Curtin was the clerk of No. 5. He was an elegant penman, and to his full and accurate records the public are indebted for a knowledge, not only of the history of this organization, but incidentally for many facts setting forth the general condition of the department as a whole. Under date of July 3d, 1815, he says: "Examined the engine, and (with a disposition to dispatch business with the greatest celerity) adjourned." The explanation is, that this was the evening before the first anniversary of Independence after the close of the second war with Great Britain, and that their patriotism ran high enough to justify them in spending the evening somewhere outside of the engine house. "January 27th, 1816, a fire broke out at the house of Abijah Newhall, but was almost immediately checked by No. 5." The following from

the record shows that No. 5 was on hand whenever needed:

"1817, August 16th.—A cry of fire alarmed the inhabitants of Woodend, accompanied by the ringing of bells, and the blowing of horns. It was with haste they stayed the element which was perceived at the factory of Squire Shove."

"1819, January 26th.—The cry of fire, which was perceived at Enoch Curtin's store, alarmed the inhabitants of Woodend. With the haste and energy of our men, the consuming fire was stayed."

"1820.—A cry of fire, and the ringing of bells and the blowing of horns alarmed the inhabitants of Woodend. With despatch and haste the engine was got out and proceeded toward the destructive element, which was discerned to be at Joseph Breed's barn. By exertions it was extinguished."

The next engine was not bought until more than four years had passed. In August, 1811, No. 6 was bought of Stephen Thayer for four hundred and tweny-five dollars. It had a four and one-half inch cylinder and a ten-inch stroke, and was the same pattern as No. 1. Eben Oakman, who lived in what is now East Saugus, was active in procuring this engine, and when the company was formed was chosen its captain. The engine house was built near the spot where the East Saugus station now stands, but was afterward moved to the opposite side of the river, when the railroad ran

through the village. When Saugus was separated from Lynn, in 1815, the act of incorporation prescribed that the town of Saugus should furnish nine members to the company, and the remainder to be furnished from Lynn. Soon after the engine was bought, the selectmen of the town engaged one of the inhabitants of the village to furnish a *fire-hook* for the company. The job was completed, but the implement was so enormous that it was not convenient to handle it. According to information furnished by one who had seen it, the hook looked like a schooner's anchor, and about the size; while the pole or shaft to which it was attached was eight inches in diameter, and as long in proportion. Fifty men could manage it without much trouble, and if there were not enough men in the village, it is presumed that a sufficient force could be got out of town. It is said that this effort at mechanism was not appreciated by the company, who declined to avail themselves of its latent possibilities; and so it was a "dead loss to somebody."

In 1824 the people of Swampscott thought the time had come when they should have the advantages of a fire engine, to be located in their village. The young men, especially, were interested in the enterprise, as it would give them exemption from military duty, which required them to appear at stated times "armed and equipped as the law directs." Accordingly an engine was purchased of

Mr. Thayer, of Boston. This was named the "Assistant," and numbered 7. It was the exact pattern of Nos. 1 and 6, except that the cylinders were one-half inch larger. The historian suggests that "the rivalry that afterward existed in the department originated with that generation." Ephraim Ingalls was chosen captain of the new company, and a house was built for its accommodation on the ledge near the fishing beach. This house stood on this spot until within a few years, and the engine did good service whenever it was needed, which was very seldom the case at home, as Swampscott has enjoyed a remarkable exemption from fires. It was always ready, however, when the Lynn bells sounded the alarm, to start at the shortest notice, manned by as hardy a crew as ever worked the brakes. They did not stop to shake hands before they started, and as they came up Lewis street there was every appearance that they had business to attend to.

The year 1833 marked a new era in the fire department of Lynn. One cold morning in January, the shoe manufactory of David Taylor was discovered to be on fire. This factory was situated on the spot where engine No. 8 was afterward located. The department rallied, but their best efforts were unavailing to save the building, which was destroyed with all its contents. "The thermometer was at zero," says the historian; "some

of the engines froze up, and many of the firemen were frost-bitten. Some were covered with ice, and were obliged to give up their efforts, their armor of ice making them more helpless than though they had been encased in a coat of mail. In this emergency, the ladies came to the aid of the firemen, and displayed a most extraordinary amount of fortitude and endurance." This fire showed that the engines then in use could not be relied on in case of a large conflagration. The reader will understand that up to this time the simple fire engine only pumped the water from the "tub," which was supplied from the buckets as they were passed along — the full buckets down one line from the well, or pond, and the empty ones back again to be refilled.

The self-drafting, or "suction engine," as it was called, was now introduced, and No. 3 was the first to avail themselves of this great improvement. A contract was made with Mr. Godfrey, of Boston, to furnish one, and the engine was built during the year 1833. The following description of the machine, given by Mr. Rowell, will interest firemen, and probably some others. It was a side-stroke piano machine, the pump of which, instead of being a cylinder, was more in the form of a ship's quadrant. Its size was about ten inches from top to bottom, and was about eight inches thick, and through the top of which, working in an air-tight

collar, passed the shaft to which was connected the cam and brakes. Inside the quadrant, and firmly secured to the shaft, was a plate of iron called a fan, about an inch thick, and of the same shape as the length and width of the quadrant, the edges being packed with leather; and when the brakes were worked it moved from side to side of the quadrant, alternately on each of these sides. Outside of the quadrant was a hollow chamber, called the water-way, though the water passed into, and out of, the pump into a globe-shaped air-chamber above the shaft. A branch connected the inlet with the water-ways, similar to that now used by the Button engine. It was very powerful in drafting, but worked heavily, and was, to use a common expression, a "regular man-killer." The suction branch, being made of sheet-copper, was continually breaking, frequently at a time when the active service of the engine was required, vexing the company with its repeated failures.

This was the first engine associated with the boyish recollections of the writer. To the boys of "Black Marsh," (usually called Black *Mash*,) this engine stood as the embodiment and representative of all hydraulic possibilities. There was thought to be an immense latent power stowed away in her somewhere, and suggestive hints and emphatic nods were given, intended to express the belief that if this occult power could be got out of her nothing

constructed on this continent, in the shape of a fire extinguisher could stand along side of her for a minute. To bring out, in some small degree, this power, pulleys were attached to the brakes. The ropes ran through sheaves fastened to the lower part of the engine, and a dozen men and boys on either side of the "tub" pulled at these ropes to aid the brakemen in making her show her hidden strength. As this was the only "suction engine" in Lynn at the time, "Old 3" reigned supreme for a while, till one mightier came and disputed her empire.

The example set by No. 3 was followed by the people living near the western end of the Common. David Taylor led off by contributing two hundred dollars for the purpose of buying an engine, and building a house to receive it. Others followed in sums varying from one hundred to twenty-five dollars, the whole amount somewhat exceeding one thousand two hundred dollars. A contract was entered into with Stephen Thayer, of Boston, to furnish an engine and hose carriage for the sum of eight hundred dollars. The engine was finished and delivered on Fast Day, 1834. It was a suction machine, six and one-fourth inch cylinder, and ten and twelve inch stroke, with a ten-foot beam and fourteen-foot brakes, giving room for twenty-eight men. For its size it was a smart machine, and the company, of which James A. Mears was the first

foreman, took great pride in showing her off. As might be expected, a rivalry at once sprang up between the company and No. 3, which continued with varying degrees of intensity as long as the companies existed.

In 1835 the act incorporating the Fire Department of the town of Lynn was passed, and was accepted by the inhabitants in town meeting assembled. The town also voted to assume the responsibility of keeping those engines in repair, and ready for constant use, which should be given up by the proprietors. The consequence was that all were given up, and the department was organized by the election of twelve engineers and three assistants, who had under their control two suction and six "tub" engines, and two hose carriages. As the town increased in size fires became more frequent. Some of these are worthy of mention, as having an important bearing in directly leading to improvements of which the fire department availed itself.

On the fifth of July, 1836, the first firemen's muster occurred under the new organization. The interest shown in the new machines lessened the interest taken in the old-fashioned "tubs." "The records of the two new engines — 3 and 8 — are wanting for this year," says Mr. Rowell, who derived his account of the contest from such verbal information as he was able to collect. The following is his account of the trial: "From this it appears

that each in turn drafted and supplied the other, each receiving-engine playing through a three-fourths pipe, and each getting all they could take care of. I should judge that 3's company wore the shortest faces, and we may conclude that they felt perfect confidence in the ability of their machine as a drafting engine. No. 8's company felt a little sore, and were loud in their denunciation of using so small a pipe."

This brings us down to a period within the memory of many now living; and as the interest increased as time went on, some of the reminiscences of the next fifteen or twenty years recall scenes in which the firemen of Lynn played a part that attracted the attention of all interested in such matters for miles around; "Lynn having been an important battle-ground," as Mr. Rowell remarks, "for nearly all the New England builders."

The next company organized was No. 9 — 1836 — and an engine was purchased of A. Bisbee & Co., of Boston, which cost one thousand dollars, the town paying seven hundred dollars. It was called the "Niagara." They built a house on Essex street, near what is now the corner of Johnson street included in the City Hall lot, where it stood till 1848.

The next engine bought, in 1837, was by the old No. 5 company, whose engine, as we have seen, was purchased in 1806. The company now took

the name of "Torrent," a name more appropriate, it would seem, than the "Eclipse," which rather suggests an opaque signification. The engine was built by J. S. Hill, of Salem, at an expense of one thousand and fifty dollars, paid by the town. The engine house, said to have been the "best in the town" at that time, was built by the company.

The "Silver Greys" came next. The company was organized in the same year — 1837 — using the old "Eclipse," No. 5. The town built an engine house at an expense of three hundred dollars. It was afterward enlarged at an expense of two hundred and fifty dollars more. It stood first on Portland street, but was afterward removed to Chestnut street. In 1844, a new engine was bought of the Messrs. Thayer, of Boston, at the cost of seven hundred dollars, of which the town paid four hundred dollars.

The old company, "Perseverance," No. 4, now thought it was time to have a "suction engine," and in 1839 the town purchased one of Hunneman & Co., and built an engine house, at an expense, for both, of one thousand dollars.

There were now six suction engines in town of nearly equal capacity, built by four different makers. As a matter of course the feeling of rivalry ran high, not only among the firemen of Lynn, but among all classes out of town, as well, who "blowed" for their favorite engine, whether it was a "Thayer

tub" or a machine made by some other famous builder. Besides the formal trials alluded to, the purpose of which was to test the capacity of the several engines, every fire was an occasion when the "boys" showed their ambition to prove the superiority of the "tubs" for which they "blowed." No. 3, by chance, would be stationed at the well or pond, a thousand feet, or more, from the fire; next to No. 3 stood No. 5, then No. 8, then No. 9, which played on the fire; or any other arrangement that might be supposed. Then some engine would get "washed." No. 3's ambition would be to give No. 5 all the water she wanted, and No. 5 would strain every nerve to give No. 8 *more* than she wanted. Now the cry of "break her down" would be heard along the line; then some "side-walk" members would make an encouraging remark, as they surveyed the situation. Then it would be discovered that the water in No. 9's "tub" was rising. Again the cry would be heard, "break her down, 8;" and soon the water would be pouring over the sides of No. 9, and a shout would go up from No. 8's crew, comprehensive in its volume, and miscellaneous in its character; and if any of No. 9's crew had come out in the hurry of the occasion with "pumps" on, they would be likely to go home with damp stockings. Perhaps before this crisis would be reached an accident would happen that did n't seem to have any reference to hydraulic pressure.

There seemed to be a remarkable coincidence between the time of the accident and the exigencies of the situation. It did n't seem to make much difference whether the hose was new or old. It would burst just the same. Then somebody would inquire what made that hose burst. Then somebody would examine it. Then a few would look wise. Then several would make remarks, and put in some of the most emphatic adjectives in the English language in just the place to give them the most telling effect, as though they had been selected for the occasion. "Perhaps this is all right," one would say, "but it 's (adjective) curious that that hose happened to burst just at that time, and just in that place." As already intimated, various episodes were likely to occur. As, by the above arrangement, the "laboring oar" would come to No. 3's crew and engine, it would sometimes be discovered that the water in No. 5's "tub" was lowering; then her crew would "spring to it," and soon the cry "no water! hold on!" would be heard along the line. Then the invidious and suggestive inquiry would be directed to No. 3's crew, whether "Aunt Carter's well had given out." (This well had never failed to respond to any demands made upon it by the fire department, being supplied — as was supposed — by a subterranean stream running at the bottom.) Then, perhaps, the response from No. 3 would be — "Change places, will you? We 'll dry you up in

about three minutes." But perhaps the fire occurred too far off to make Aunt Carter's, or any other unfailing well, available; then fifteen minutes' time was long enough to drain almost any well in the neighborhood, and the signal — *Hold on! no water!*" would be given. Then there would be a start for some other well or source of supply, and in the mean time the fire would have a good chance to get well under way.

It will be seen from this that considerable interest was manifested in the working of the several machines. It must not be inferred from this that the burning building was entirely overlooked. Considerable water was played upon the fire. Now and then a deed of daring would occur that would excite the admiration of the spectators, and call forth loud plaudits from the assembled multitude; for it must be borne in mind that in those earlier days nearly all the town turned out to see the comparatively rare sight of a building on fire. The boys, especially, were there in large numbers. It was considered as something akin to disgrace for a boy to ignore the claims of such an occasion to his presence and encouraging influence, and, if need be, to his services in eating the crackers and cheese after the fire was over. And so, when "Joe" or "Jim" mounted the ladder, pipe in hand, and disappeared in the smoke, and afterward emerged drenched with water, and his face blackened by

too close contact with charred timbers, a yell of applause would go up from the juvenile crowd, and from a good many others who were too old to be juvenile. The cheers were especially loud from that part of the crowd which "stuck up" or "blowed" for the engine to which "Joe" or "Jim" belonged.

Perhaps an engine from the outskirts of the town would now make its appearance, and a good deal of noise. Then some of the boys would inquire why it had n't waited till the next day. Now it would appear that there was danger that the fire would communicate to adjoining buildings. Then the old "Sagamore Hook and Ladder Company" would be on hand with its ladders for mounting the buildings; its hooks to pull down whatever might be thought to add to the danger of the situation; and with sails ready to spread over the buildings most exposed. Nothing suited the boys better than to get a chance to pull on one of the ropes attached to one of these hooks that was fastened to a corner post of a small wooden building half burned down. Once in a while one of the hooks would lose its hold, or break. Then several would go over backwards. Then a good many more would hurrah. In the meantime the whole philosophy of putting out fires was discussed on the neighboring sidewalks, and one could hear where each engine ought to be stationed, and what each captain should order to be done. "Now, if 'Old Eight' would

just go round to the back part of that building, and put a stream on that north corner, that would fix it." The captains of these engines probably never knew how complete a programme was marked out for them. But whether they followed the line marked out or not, the fire at last succumbed, and if it was one of considerable importance, the next thing in order would be the collation provided by some generous citizens. The boys were not indifferent spectators of this frequent accompaniment to a firemen's turn out for actual service. In fact, they were not at all willing to be spectators merely — much less indifferent spectators. In short, their interest was of the most active and lively kind. They were ready to stand in front of a pot of coffee till it was all gone; and, in an emergency, would use a reasonable amount of individual exertion to make it go.

After fourteen years' service, the Godfrey engine, No. 3, was exchanged, in 1847, for a Hunneman "tub," the town paying a balance of five hundred dollars. In the same year the Torrent, No. 5, was exchanged for one built by Leslie, of Newburyport, the town paying a balance of six hundred and forty-five dollars.

In 1850, the Niagara, No. 9, was exchanged for one built by Howard & Davis, which cost nine hundred and fifty dollars, the town paying a balance of five hundred dollars. The house and ap-

paratus had been removed from Essex street to Franklin street — 1848 — and the house enlarged, at an expense of two hundred and sixty-eight dollars. In 1851, the Silver Grey, No. 10, was thoroughly repaired at an expense of three hundred dollars, and again in 1856, costing the city six hundred and forty-four dollars. The last repairs completely remodeled the engine, "nothing of the original remaining," facetiously says the historian already quoted, "except the bell."

In 1854, the Volunteer, No. 8 — after having been repaired twice at an expense of three hundred dollars — was laid aside and a new one was purchased of Howard & Davis, of Boston, which, including a hose carriage, cost one thousand two hundred and twenty-nine dollars, of which the city paid one thousand dollars.

When the Perseverance company No. 4, of Gravesend — since Glenmere — received their new Hunneman engine in 1839, it took the name of "Tiger." Twenty years afterward — 1859 — their engine house — having been once enlarged at an expense of one hundred and sixty-six dollars — was sold, and the proceeds, amounting to one hundred and fifty dollars, and an appropriation of one thousand and fifty-six dollars, were used in building the present house.

There were now six new engines — or nearly so —

of capacity so nearly equal that the rivalry among them was kept at fever point.

For some ten years prior to the introduction of steam fire engines into our city — 1864 — the fire department of Lynn held a high rank among the fire departments of the chief cities of the Commonwealth. The rivalry among the several companies tended to keep each organization in a high state of efficiency. Whenever a new engine was purchased it was expected — by its own company at least — to be a little better and smarter than any other in the city. Each one was supposed to be specially strong in some one direction. One was the most powerful drafting engine; another was the most easily worked in the city; a third, the best looking one that had yet made its appearance, having a large amount of brass and gilt ornament that made it gleam like a golden chariot in the rays of the setting sun, and it did n't gleam much less when a noontide or a morning sun shone upon it. The rivals of such an engine would be likely to give it a fancy name, as the "Piano."

In 1851, No. 5 changed their engine, bought in 1847, for another by the same builder, the company paying the difference, five hundred and sixty dollars. In 1859, the sum of two hundred and eighty dollars was appropriated to repair the engine of company No. 3, purchased of Hunneman in 1847. But the company preferred another, and obtained

leave to exchange their old engine for a new one, and to use the appropriation so far as it would go, the company paying the difference. The exchange was made with Hunneman & Co., and the cost was two thousand two hundred dollars. This was the highest cost of any engine in Lynn up to this time. The company thought there was nothing in the city quite equal to it, and a good many in the neighborhood favored that opinion. It was a splendid machine, and its crew were not afraid to put it alongside of anything in the shape of a fire engine for miles around.

In 1861, No. 4, the company at Glenmere, changed their engine, bought of Hunneman & Co., for a new one built by William Jeffers, of Pawtucket, R. I. This was the last hand fire engine bought in Lynn. Two thousand dollars were paid besides the old engine, the city paying one thousand dollars, the company making up the remainder. Not one of the company, probably, thought this engine a poor one. On the contrary, they were ready to put it against any similar invention in or out of town. And they had pretty good reason for their confidence, as their engine took more prizes in succeeding years than any other machine — if the writer is not mistaken — within the limits of the city, and, perhaps, beyond its limits. But it was equally ready for service whenever called upon, whether the call came from far or near. On a sul-

try Fourth of July, about this time, a fire broke out near one of the wharves in East Boston. A veteran fireman from Lynn, sauntering along near one of the wharves on the other side, in Boston proper, heard the alarm and saw the blaze, which was the beginning of what proved to be a disastrous conflagration. With the instinct of a fireman, he made his nearest way to the spot. He there met "Old Cambridge 3," as he expressed it, and recognizing old acquaintances, was soon at work on the brakes, as much at home as though he had hold of the brakes of No. 10, as she played from the well at Charley Chase's corner. As the fire spread, they were driven from one wharf to another, making serious work for the firemen as it threw out its flaming signals that were seen for miles around. One engine after another arrived to lend its assistance, until one hove in sight that had a familiar look to our veteran fireman at work on the brakes; and as she came nearer he espied "Old Ben," as he was familiarly called, stripped to his pants, at the head of his company of "Tigers." They had come at no slow pace all the way from Gravesend — not less than ten miles — the heat of the day being equaled only by their zeal to be on hand whenever their services might be needed. It was said that the time made was one hour and twenty minutes.

An alarm of fire in old times, and even as late as the introduction of the steam fire engine, was often

attended with some amusing performances. Till within about forty-five years there were but two bells in town; one on the "Old Tunnel," as it was then called, now the Second Universalist, at the corner of South Common and Commercial streets, and the other in the belfry of the First Methodist church, at the east end of the Common, opposite the City Hall. The first was hung at a date unknown, the second in 1816. The bell on the First Universalist church, on Union street, (since 1872 the Fourth Baptist,) was hung in 1835. That on the Second Methodist church, Woodend, a little later. If a fire occurred in Woodend — before these last dates — it would take some time to get the alarm to West Lynn. Vociferous yelling, pitched to all sorts of keys, from the shrill tenor of the small boy, to the deep, if not sonorous bass of the full-grown man, was heard all over town, as fast as the alarm spread, till somebody got hold of the bell-rope, and the people were thoroughly aroused. At first the startling inquiry would be, "Where 's the fire?" Very miscellaneous answers were given to this question. "I heard the 'Old Tunnel' strike first." "No, the Methodist struck first." No, no, it 's up t' other way. Capt'n —— says it 's in Upper Swampscott; he 's just come from there." Sometimes things would get a good deal mixed up. Two engines, going in opposite directions, bound for the same place, would meet in the middle of a street.

Then would be heard a "hurrah," and a "guffaw," and a new start would be made for the fire.

Old engine men will here be reminded of the false alarms that used to harass the firemen, rouse the whole city, and add a few hundred dollars to current municipal expenses. Nothing suited a boy better — some of them of good size — than to raise a false alarm. One of these would set up a yell that sounded somewhat like the cry of fire. Another, a few rods distant, would take up the cry, and the yell would sound a little more like fire. A third, not far off, pretending to understand this as a genuine alarm, would shout fire with unmistakeable distinctness, and run for the nearest bell-rope, or start for the nearest engine house. Saturday evening was more generally the time for these performances. The records of the fire department show more cases of false alarms in a single year, at that period, than have occurred since the introduction of the telegraphic fire alarm, some ten years ago.

Half or two-thirds of the town would turn out and run in the supposed direction of the burning building. More fuss was made, and more noise, when a barn worth two hundred dollars was found to be on fire, than would now be occasioned by the burning of a whole block. A fire in old times was a town talk for weeks. When the building got on fire, how it got on fire, by whom first seen, and

where, and how much it was burnt when first seen, and all other points connected with the event were exhaustively considered in shoemakers' shops, from Saugus to Swampscott.

The years 1857 and 1858 were memorable in the engine history of Lynn, for in those years several firemen's musters and displays took place in various parts of the State, and in some of these the firemen of Lynn were specially interested. All kinds of trials were made to test the capacity of the respective machines. There was horizontal playing, and perpendicular playing, and there was, besides, a tank to be filled in the shortest time possible. For the benefit of the uninitiated — and there will be a good many of that kind a hundred years hence — it may be well to say, that in perpendicular playing the stream of water was forced as high as possible into the air. In horizontal playing the pipe was held at such an angle that the stream struck the ground at the greatest possible distance from the nozzle of the pipe. At the trial in 1857, No. 8 took the first prize of $25; No. 3, the second, of $15; No. 4, the third, of $10. No. 3 also took the prize of $10 in filling the tank in the shortest time.

In Worcester, September, 1858, at the grand display of all the most noted engines in the State, No. 9 came home crowned with laurels. She had won the first prize, and on her return home No. 3

gave her a reception, and she was escorted about the streets of Lynn by her sister companies, Nos. 8 and 10, who were hardly less proud of the triumph than the victors themselves. The proud day was celebrated with music, banners, speeches, collations, and various minor forms of festivity. To have belonged to No. 9 at that time was hardly less an honor than to have been a member of Napoleon's "Old Guard," or a survivor of the scenes of Bunker Hill. No engine man now living has forgotten that day. But the introduction of the steam fire engine changed all this. The eight or ten engines, each with a company of fifty members, have given place to three steamers — and a fourth as a reserve — each manned by twelve men. The telegraphic fire alarm — set up in 1871 — now sends its message instantaneously to every quarter of the city, designating, within a few rods, the spot where stands the burning building. From this time the glory of the old fire companies, with all the trappings of their gilded "machines," and all their rivalries, their victories over the devouring flames, and their triumphs on the field of contest departed forever.

LYNN COMMON.

The Common of the ante-revolutionary period — as well as of a much later time — was quite a different looking place from the Common as it appears to-day. Precisely what its boundaries were in early times it is impossible to tell, as the earliest town records are almost silent on the subject, and only the vaguest traditions exist concerning a matter that runs behind the memory of the oldest among the living. That its general limits were nearly the same a hundred years ago, as now, is more than probable, as several houses, marking its outline on South Common street on the one side and North Common street on the other, are in existence, whose foundations were laid more than a century ago. There is pretty clear evidence that what is now Ash street was once its boundary on one side at that point, and that the land now covered by the "Arcade" building, and others, extending as far as Elm street, was included within the limits of the Common hardly as far back as the days of the Revolution. Some have supposed that the "Old Bury-

ing Ground" was originally included in the Common; but as this spot was used as a burial ground by the earliest settlers, before boundaries had any such significance, and when an indefinite amount of land was designated "common lands," it was probably no more a part of the Common than many other unimproved acres lying adjacent. At the east end, between the old Methodist Church and the Johnson estate opposite — where now stands the City Hall — the space was much narrower as late as 1812, when the church was built. The first church built by this society, in 1791, stood until this time directly in front, about seven feet distant, facing the new structure until that was finished. This brought the old building to a line about eight feet beyond the curbstone of the present sidewalk. The corner of Market and South Common streets then projected several feet into what is now the street at that point, so that travel passed round this somewhat abrupt turn by the rear of the old church.

There was not much change in the vicinity of the Common for the next fifteen years, except the few houses built on either side. Down to this time there was quite a large number of trees upon and around the Common; and as late as 1848, when it was fenced, there were, as stated by Mr. Newhall in his History, three hundred and forty-seven trees upon it, including those within the railing and along the sidewalk.

The first important step toward adorning the Common with shade trees was taken by Aaron Breed, near the close of the last century. Mr. Breed was the uncle of Theophilus N. Breed, well known in our community, and especially well known to all shoemakers of the last generation as the veteran dealer in all kinds of shoe kit; and his old findings store was on the premises near which, and in whose neighborhood, his uncle set those trees, whose beauty attracted the attention of the passers-by for more than half a century, and whose fragrance filled the air with its grateful odors. The trees set out by Mr. Breed were elms, the Lombardy poplar — often called the English poplar — and balm of Gilead. The elms were set in front of his residence — now the estate of Dr. Blethen, next to the east corner of Pleasant and South Common streets — and along the line of the sidewalk for some distance. The balm of Gilead and poplars were set on the southerly side of the Common, extending a considerable distance east and west from this point. One of our oldest residents informs the writer that the elms were set out first. Several of those noble trees remained until a few years since, some having died, as was supposed, from the effects of gas soon after it was introduced into the city.

In 1820 the next step toward ornamenting the Common with shade trees was made. A public

benefactor at this time appeared in the person of William Wood, known to many of the old citizens of Lynn as "Billy Wood." The writer has not been able to gather many facts relating to the history of this gentleman before he came among us, or subsequent to his departure. It is said that he came from Boston, and was supposed to be a retired merchant. He was in the habit of visiting Lynn and Nahant periodically, and when at the latter place boarded with William Breed, who kept the only boarding-house on Nahant at that time. His house stood on the spot now covered by Whitney's Hotel, built in 1819. Mr. Breed was the grandfather of the late William N. Breed. It was Mr. Wood who gave the first impulse of setting out trees on Nahant, ante-dating Mr. Tudor in this particular by several years. Mr. Wood was accustomed to visit the various shops while stopping in Lynn, and of directing the attention of our citizens to the importance of improving her sidewalks and adorning the Common with trees. He made a proposition to furnish the trees if the citizens would lend their assistance in setting them out. One of our oldest residents — James Bacheller, now residing on Summer street — informed the writer that he, with his two brothers, gave a week's time in carrying out this worthy enterprise. Under this arrangement a large number of trees were set out around the Common, the sidewalks in the neigh-

borhood graded, and the general appearance of this locality much improved. Not the least part of the work done by this public-spirited and far-sighted man was the stimulus given to individual enterprise in this direction. Owners of estates on either side of the Common — as well as elsewhere — had their interest awakened at this time to the improvement and adornment of our public streets; and, according to the law which binds the interests of mankind together, the general welfare was subserved by each man's desire to adorn his immediate premises. Mr. Wood was, at this time, about fifty years of age; was regarded as somewhat eccentric, and a bachelor. Whether his eccentricity had anything to do with his being a bachelor is a matter of no historic importance; but it is certain that his eccentricity in this particular had more common sense in its operation than the concentricity of a large part of mankind.

Associated with Mr. Wood in this enterprise, and foremost in aiding the work with both time and money, was our venerable, public-spirited citizen, Henry A. Breed. Mr. Breed is still living among us, an active, hale old man, now in his eighty-first year. The record of his long, busy life — a life identified with every step in the march of improvement that has carried us forward from a comparatively insignificant town of four thousand inhabitants to a city of more than nine times that num-

ber, would be a great part of the history of the business changes of the last sixty years.

In 1829 or 1830 — for the town records are strangely silent upon this matter — the third and greatest improvement was undertaken. At this time the Common was plowed up, its surface leveled, and its sides ornamented with many additional trees.

In 1830 an association was formed which aimed at a scheme of more general improvement. This organization, as will be seen, included nearly all the prominent men in the town at the time. The following was its list of members: Dr. James Gardner, Andrews Breed, George Johnson, Samuel T. Huse, Benjamin Massey, Joseph Breed, 3d, Henry A. Breed, John Caldwell, William Caldwell, Calley Newhall, Jr., Joseph Lye, Christopher Robinson, Paul Newhall, Thomas Bowler, Joseph M. Nye, Daniel L. Mudge, Stephen Oliver, Col. Samuel Brimblecom, Samuel Bacheller, 3d, James Hudson, Theophilus Newhall, Jr., Capt. Amos Attwill, John B. Chase, Joseph A. Lloyd, James P. Boyce, John Lovejoy, Isaac Gates, Esq., John Alley, 3d, Benjamin Clifford, Dr. Richard Hazeltine, Jonathan Buffum, Edmund Munroe, Nathan Breed, Nathan D. Chase, Moses Breed, Abel Houghton, Jr., Gideon Phillips, Samuel Tufts, Richard Richards, Samuel Neal, Ebenezer Brown, Samuel Ireson, Ezra Curtin, Jacob Ingalls, Thomas H. Att-

will, Moses Goodridge, Jr., Samuel Larrabee, Matthew Mansfield, William Clark, William Bassett, Micajah C. Pratt and Dr. William B. Brown.

From the impulse given by this association several of our principal streets at that time were more or less lined with young trees. Many of the fine trees that adorned Summer street, and other streets in the neighborhood of the Common, were set during the prevalence of the "tree fever" that raged at that period; and all parts of the town felt, to a greater or less extent, its influence. Many of these trees, as well as those of an older growth, were blown down, or so shattered as to destroy their symmetry and beauty, in the great tornado that swept over the city on the 8th of September, 1869. The record by the Surveyor of Streets shows that five men and two horses were engaged four weeks in removing the wrecks of noble trees that obstructed the streets and sidewalks in every part of the city.

Let us now take a look at the Common as it appeared to the eye of the beholder sixty years ago. It wore a very different aspect from that which now presents itself—a level green, crossed with graveled walks, adorned with fine trees, and surrounded with a substantial and ornamental fence. It was then an uneven stretch of grass land, several feet lower at certain points than it is at present, while its highest section was somewhat above the most elevated part of the grade as it now appears. It was an

open space, free to all the cows and other animals of the neighborhood, and through its center, or a little to the north of it, run the only "made" street — except the turnpike — within the limits of the town. What is now North Common street was then an ill-defined country road. It was not a "made" street till 1830. Along where South Common street is now there was considerable travelling in the dry season, as far as the brook which crossed the Common from the north side near the west corner of what is now Baker street. Travel passed over this brook on the south side of the Common on a rickety wooden bridge; and as the land on either side of this bridge was low, heavy rains or melting snows made it a hard road, if not an impossible way, to travel. Then teams would turn out on to the higher and dryer parts of the Common, and as a consequence it was more or less used as a highway as comfort, or convenience, dictated. At the west end of the Common, as now enclosed, was a "knoll," or elevation of land, gradually sloping away to a depression known as "Academy Hollow," so called because it was opposite the old Academy, which stood near the spot now occupied by the residence of R. A. Spalding, a little west of the head of Vine street. In winter this was a fine skating pond for the boys. From this point eastward the land rose to the highest elevation reached between the east and west end of the Common, the land at this point

being nearly on the same level then as now. On this rise of land stood the "Old Tunnel Meeting House." Eastward of this section the land was somewhat lower, its lowest point being crossed by the brook above-mentioned. Here the road, which ran at the north side of the buildings then occupying the Common, crossed the brook over a wooden bridge. This brook afterward ran into, or rather through the Frog Pond, when that was constructed in 1838 or 1839. The basin of this pond was made under the superintendence of Otis Newhall. It was about three feet deep — its sloping sides measuring some four feet — and enclosed with a fence. In 1848, when the Common was fenced, its sides were walled up, and curbstones set around its edges; and twenty-three years later, in 1871, the brook was turned into the sewer, the bottom of the pond cemented, and the basin supplied with water from Breed's pond.

The depression on either side of this brook was called "Meeting House Hollow," when it was not called "Goose Hollow." This also was a skating pond for the boys in winter. From this brook eastward the Common was somewhat higher; and at a point opposite Church street (then not opened) there was quite an elevation, or "knoll," as it is termed in the town records, when this part of the Common was designated as the site of the old school house, which was removed from Franklin

street in 1752. From this point eastward the land was nearly level.

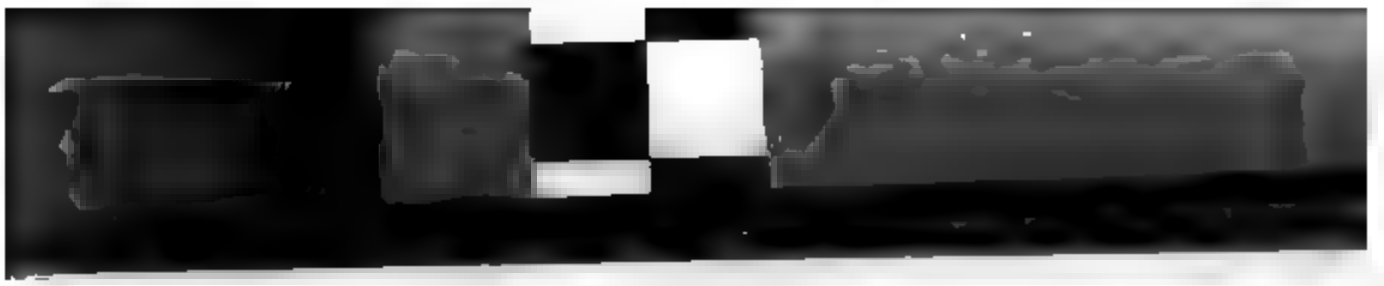
Looking westward from the east end of the Common, the first building that would attract attention was the Ward Five Grammar School House, which stood between the site of the Soldiers' Monument and Franklin street, occupying a portion of what is now the road-bed of North Common street at that point. This school house was built in 1810 for Ward Six — Ward Six then including, for the most part, what is now Ward Five and a portion of Ward Four — and was removed to Franklin street, opposite the present site of the Cobbet School House, in the Fall of 1823.

The first building within the limits of the Common, as one looked from the east, was the Old Town House, its wide doors, like the gates of Janus, facing both ways — east and west. The south-western corner of the lower floor was used by the Light Infantry as an armory, and a room on the southerly side was occupied by the Selectmen whenever occasion required. The remainder of the lower story was an open space, through which the military marched on "training days" to the Gun House in the rear, to stack their arms, when the service of the day was over. It stood about mid-way between North Common street and South Common street. It was built in 1814, and was removed from the Common, in 1832, to the lot on

South Common street, nearly opposite, on the spot where Blossom street enters it — Blossom court, when opened, ending at the rear of the Town Hall yard. It was destroyed by fire on the night of October 6th, 1864.

Next came the Gun House, standing several rods at the west, and in range of the Town Hall. It was built in 1809 to receive the "great guns" sent by the United States government at that time when the disturbed state of our relations with Great Britain threatened the war which came in 1812. It was removed from the Common the same year — probably — in which the Town House was removed, and occupied a lot in the southwest corner of the Town House yard.

Next came what was known as the Attwill House. According to common report, it was built in 1682, by the first parish as a residence for the sexton of the church. It came into the possession of the Attwill family some seventy-five years later. There seems to be pretty good evidence that it was built at the above date. The present occupant of the house — Miss Ruth A. Attwill — remembers that she saw a tablet brought to light, when a partition was taken down, on which was inscribed: "BUILT JUNE, 1682." It stood about mid-way between North and South Common streets, nearly opposite the head of Baker street, and was built from timber cut from the Common — oak and pine — and its



walls filled in with brick, as was common in those days. It is a two-story, low-posted structure, its narrow windows of irregular sizes, and its massive beams furnishing a contrast with the capacious, light-framed and more symmetrically-planned dwellings of the present day. As it stood on the Common, it was surrounded by a picket fence, which inclosed a half-acre of land, on which was an orchard of fifteen apple trees, two peach trees, and two cherry trees, besides a plat cultivated as a garden. The house formed part of the western end of the enclosure, and was a few rods east of the brook above-mentioned. It was moved from the Common, in 1835, to the lot where it now stands, on Whiting street, on the right, entering Whiting street from the Common. It is now (1879) one of the oldest houses in the city, and is still occupied by Miss Ruth A. Attwill, the granddaughter of Zachary Attwill, who purchased it of his great aunts about the year 1780. In its external appearance it has not undergone much change; and its internal arrangements remained the same for about a century, since which time it has been subject to various modifications.

The next building was the old engine house, built in 1797 for the first engine used in town — the "Relief." It stood a little west of the brook on the north side of the Common. It was moved, in 1832,

across North Common street to a lot near the corner of Harwood street.

The next building was the Old Tunnel Meeting House, built in 1682. It stood in the center of the Common, nearly opposite — a little to the west — the head of Whiting street. It was removed in 1827 to its present site, corner of Commercial and South Common streets, at which time it was remodeled, and to a considerable extent rebuilt.

The next building was the school house belonging to the sixth district. It stood opposite the eastern end of what is now the "Arcade" building, or just outside the west end of the Common as now enclosed. It was built, probably, about the year 1790.

The fence, already alluded to, was placed around the Common (1848) at a cost of $2,500. The town was mainly indebted for this needed protection and ornament, to the efforts of a company of public spirited ladies. In the last three days of September, of the above-named year, they held a fair in Exchange Hall — then just built — by which they obtained the sum of about $1,400. Other sums were obtained by subscription sufficient to complete the work.

A small plat at the easterly end was enclosed at the same time as a Park. Directly in front of the east end of the Park the Soldiers' Monument was placed, and dedicated September 17th, 1873.

During the past few years the grade of the Common has been gradually raised, and its general appearance improved. Under the charge of an efficient forester new trees are planted, and old and unsightly ones removed. There are at present on the Common two hundred and thirteen trees, about four-fifths of which are elms, the rest lindens, rock maples and horse chestnuts. In the Park there are fifty trees, mostly elms.

As late as 1825 there were nineteen houses — including two meeting houses and one bank — on South Common street, and twenty-six on North Common street, including the Lynn Hotel. Besides these there were four on the Common at that date. Of these forty-nine buildings, there are ten now standing on the south side, and nineteen on the north side. The Common contains seven and one-fourth acres.

THE STREETS OF LYNN FIFTY YEARS AGO.

The limits of the present volume will not permit the writer to give more than an outline of the history of the streets of Lynn; but it is hoped that this outline, imperfect as it is, will have something more than a passing interest. An incidental allusion, or the fixing of a date, is often sufficient to give a hint that sheds light upon an event that otherwise might remain in obscurity, and sometimes makes certain a matter having an historical importance.

Some time has been spent in fixing, with accuracy, the dates here given, and where absolute exactness has not been attainable, it is believed that such an approximation has been made as will serve the essential purpose of a record like this, or furnish a clew that will lead the more diligent inquirer to that certainty which he seeks.

The elderly readers of these pages will readily recall the business aspect of Lynn as it appeared forty or fifty years ago. It may not be uninterest-

ing to younger readers to get a glimpse of the business geography of the town at that time.

The business streets of Lynn at that period — between 1830 and 1840 — were Broad, Front, (the western end of Broad street, as far as its intersection with Exchange street, then called Pine street, was known as Front street,) Market and South Common streets. Considerable business centered about the old Lynn Hotel, at Federal square, and also around the Village House, at Woodend. Outside of these limits a few individuals did a small business in different sections of the town. To get an idea by way of contrast, let us take a view of what is now the business center of the city, including the business portion of Ward Five, and bounded by Market, Broad — to Silsbee — Silsbee, Pearl, High and Oxford streets. In 1830 the only streets inside these limits were Union street, (the southwest part,) Spruce street, (now Washington,) running from Union street to its junction with Liberty street, which, at that time, ran from that point to Market street — the northern part extending to High street was opened a few years after — Pine and Spring streets. These five streets — Liberty, Spruce, Union, Pine and Spring — besides the boundary streets already named — except Silsbee, (opened in 1834,) and Oxford streets — were all there were in that entire area. Willow street was opened about 1842, Almont street in 1846, Mulberry

street in 1850, Buffum street in 1851, Oxford street in 1846, Central avenue in 1872. Extending the line on Broad street so as to make Chestnut street the northeasterly boundary, from Broad street on the one hand to Essex street on the other, and thence to Market street, and we have a territory through which, at that time, no street passed, except the northeasterly end of Union street, Pearl street, and High street. Not a single street cut the entire section between the Central Station and Chestnut street, and included within the bounds of Exchange, Broad, Chestnut and Union streets. That entire tract embraced only fields, orchards and gardens, except what was then called Mount Vernon court, including the southern end of the present Mount Vernon street. Friend, Ellis, School, Smith, Green, Violet, Howard, Estes, Pinkham, Mailey, Ezra and East Charles streets, and all the courts and alleys included in these streets, were then unknown. Three fields—known as the Ellis, Smith and Estes fields—running nearly the whole length of Union street, on the east side, and extending to the rear of the lots on Broad and Chestnut streets, embraced seven-eighths of this section of the town.

Union street, for the most part, was then a low, swampy, and not much traveled thoroughfare, and went by the unpretending name of "Estes Lane." It was avoided especially on dark nights, and by

timid people, as a lonesome street; and its course by the Eastern Burial Ground was not the least among the reasons that caused it to be shunned. In the evening boys went by this part of it on the run. Only two places of business were then upon it, the grocery store of Joseph Breed, father of Henry and Joseph Breed, 2d — kept in what is now the dwelling house on the corner of Union and Washington streets — and the paint shop of Jonathan Buffum. That section in the immediate vicinity of the Central Station has undergone greater changes than any other.

EXCHANGE STREET.

There were but nine buildings on Exchange street (then called Pine street) in 1830 — five on the northeast side and four on the southwest. Beginning at the corner where now stands the Eastern Railroad Station then stood the house of John Mower, father of Amos E. Mower, now residing on Union street. Following the northeast side of the street stood the house of Nathan Alley. Next, on the northwest corner of Mount Vernon street (then only a court) was the house of Joseph Alley, brother to the one just mentioned. On the opposite corner, where now stands the shoe factory of John Wooldredge, no building then stood: the house built on this lot a few years after by Ira Gove was

bought by George Foster and removed to the corner of Union and School streets, where it now stands. Next stood the house of Daniel Breed, wood merchant, and father of the late William N. Breed, who followed the same business. The next and last building on that side was the shoe factory of Isaiah Breed, standing near the present location of the Bank. It will be seen that not one of these old buildings is now standing. Directly opposite the factory of Mr. Breed stood the house of James Pratt — where it now stands, at the junction of Broad and Exchange streets. This is the only building now standing that was on the street fifty years ago. Next, on the southwest side of the street, was the residence of Moses Conner. Next, a barn belonging to Abner Alley, whose house stood where it now stands, fronting on Broad street, next to the Pratt estate. Mr. Alley was the owner of the entire triangle of land bounded by Exchange, Broad and Spring streets, except the estates of James Pratt, of Moses Conner, and that of Daniel Farrington, on the corner of Broad and Spring streets. Next stood the old grammar school house of Ward Four, near the spot now occupied by the shoe factory of Isaac M. Attwill. This school house was not much like the present grammar school house on Franklin street. It was moved soon after to the school yard at the upper end of Mount Vernon court — then reached by ascending

quite a hill — a spot very near that covered by the factory now standing in the rear of the shoe factory occupied by J. P. Eaton, and owned by Albert T. Goodwin, and directly in the rear — from Silsbee street — of the Central Church. At the side of this hill there was a deep depression, or gulley, called "Uncle Joe's Hollow Hole," now making part of the railroad bed between the Central Station and the Silsbee street bridge. On the corner of Spring and Exchange streets, on the spot where now stands the shoe factory of Lucian Newhall, was the house of Daniel Carter; and between this corner and the corner of Exchange and Union streets was a vacant lot of land whose line on Union street extended to the estate of Jonathan Conner — the spot now covered by the large factories of the Brown Brothers and Jerome Ingalls. This lot was low and clayey, the last spot one would have thought to be afterward covered with imposing blocks of buildings, and the very center of our growing business.

MARKET STREET IN 1830.

The Market street of 1830 was a very different place from the Market street of 1879. The eastern end from Munroe street was some five or six feet lower than at present. Its greatest depression was near the head of Harrison avenue — opened some ten years later — and at this point was a

stone bridge. (This stone bridge was probably built somewhere near the close of the last century, and replaced a wooden structure which was in use as late as 1780.) The road-bed at this bridge was some five feet below the present grade, while the road at the corner of Market and Broad streets was several feet above it, making a hill, which a veteran teamster of the time declared to be the most difficult of any between that point and Boston — and the hills over that route were a good deal steeper then than now. High tides swept through under this bridge at the foot of this hill, flowing the low lands on the northern side; and exceptionally high tides flooded the street, and all the territory lying between Harrison avenue and Munroe street — the space now occupied by the Eastern Railroad bed and Munroe street, between Market and Washington (then Spruce) streets, being then an unbroken field, known as the Munroe field. This was generally covered with water in the wet season, and furnished good skating-grounds for the boys (the girls did n't skate then) when the weather was cold enough and the ice smooth enough. The building of the Eastern Railroad in 1837 changed all that. This necessitated the filling up of Market street on either side to a level with the railroad bed — an operation that gave to the few buildings then on that part of the street a very much underground appearance. The only

building now remaining to bear evidence of this is the old morocco factory of the late John Lovejoy, standing next to the railroad on its east side, and on the north side of Market street. There were then standing forty-nine buildings on Market street, including eight shoemakers' shops — twenty-seven on the northeast side and twenty-two on the southwest side. Of the twenty-two buildings then standing on the southwest side but two remain — one, the morocco manufactory and salesroom of Eugene Barry, the other, the corner building standing next to the old Methodist Church. The first of these was the old bark mill, owned by Winthrop Newhall, father of the late F. S. and H. Newhall. The old tan yard was on the land immediately adjacent. Business was discontinued in this yard some two or three years later, and was the last of six that were in operation in 1820. At this time about twelve thousand dollars' worth of leather was annually tanned in this yard.

Besides the two above-mentioned, on the southwest side there is a *half of a house*, known at that time as the Jerusha Williams' house. It was afterward owned by Samuel Bacheller, father of Thomas W. Bacheller. The other half was sawed off a few years ago to make room for a new block. The remainder now stands on the spot where it was built, between the store occupied by William Filene and the new block on the east. It

is now overshadowed by these, and its lower story hidden by an addition, or "wart," running to the sidewalk, on the ground that was formerly the front yard. This addition, together with the lower story of the house, is now occupied as a fruit store.

Of the twenty-seven buildings on the northeast side, but four remain. Beginning at the east end of the street, the first of these is the Sheridan House, then the residence of Stephen Smith. At that time it rather fronted on Broad street — then Front street. When the street was widened at that point, the house was moved back, raised up, a lower story added for stores, and the upper part fitted for a public house. The second is the old building standing next to the railroad on its east side. The third is the old store on the corner of Liberty street, then, or soon after, occupied as a shoe factory by one of the Harney brothers, and still later as a clothing store. The fourth is the store on the corner of Market and Essex streets, then kept by Otis Wright as a grocery store, and now occupied — the lower part — by Warren Tapley, as an apothecary shop. A few rods from this corner, on the opposite side of the street, stood the house and shoemaker's shop of Gamaliel Oliver, father of William B. Oliver. In this shoemaker's shop William Lloyd Garrison worked at shoemaking in his early days. In 1830 the old Richard Pratt house, standing on a spot now covered by the Bubier Block, a few rods

east of the Post Office, was replaced by the house built by the late John Lovejoy.

In 1831 the six following-named persons and firms — reckoning each firm as one — did business on Market street: Joseph Alley, Samuel Bacheller, Baker & Saunderson, Jonathan Boyce & Son, Martin D. Harney and Jacob I. Johnson. In 1840 fourteen persons and firms did business on this street: John B. Alley, Samuel Bacheller, Thomas W. Bacheller, George L. Barnard, Daniel C. Baker, Samuel M. Bubier, Theophilus Hallowell, George B. Harney, Martin D. Harney, Abner S. Moore, W. B. & J. P. Oliver, Richardson & Graves, Joseph N. Saunderson and John A. Thurston.

In 1830 there was no street, except Nahant street, between Broad street and the sea; and continuing the line through Lewis street, not a single street or court divided the territory lying between these old thoroughfares and the ocean.

The first streets opened were Portland and Baltimore, in 1832; Newhall, and Sagamore — from Nahant to Newhall — in 1835; Bassett and Garland, in 1836; Beach, in 1838; Red Rock, in 1847; Breed, in 1844; Ocean street — to Lewis — in 1845; Sachem, in 1843; King, in 1847: Ocean — from Atlantic to Nahant — in 1848: West Sagamore, in 1845; Wave, in 1848; Amity, in 1851; Nichols and Foster, in 1852; Cherry, in 1853;

New Ocean and Suffolk, in 1855, and Farrar, in 1861.

Within the boundaries already mentioned — Broad, Chestnut and Union streets — Green street was the first opened — 1833; Silsbee, 1834; School, Ellis, Howard, East Charles, Ezra, Pinkham, Estes, Mailey and Violet, in 1848; Friend, in 1867, and Friend street place, in 1877.

What is now known as the Highlands was then called Rocks' pasture. That entire stretch of land inclosed within the boundaries beginning at the City Hall, and running along Essex street, to Chestnut, thence to Western avenue, (then known as the turnpike,) thence to Franklin street, thence to City Hall again, was made up of fields, pastures, ledges and berry swamps. Not a single cross street cut this entire territory for some years later than 1830. The first inroad made upon this large tract of land was Essex court, running from Essex street — near the head of Pearl — and Hutchinson's court, which, extending to the foot of High Rock, made that famous eminence more easily accessible. These were opened in 1835.

Rockaway court, (now Rockaway street,) Adams court and Jefferson court were opened in 1846, and other courts further east still later. The streets leading to Mount Pleasant were not opened till 1865. Sheridan street was also opened in 1865.

As late as 1850 there were not more than twenty

houses — not including those standing on the boundary lines — within the entire territory bounded by Essex street on the east, Chestnut street on the north, Western avenue on the west, and Washington street on the south; and nearly all of these were in Essex court, above named.

Within the territory bounded by Market, South Common, Commercial and Sea streets, there were but four streets as late as 1830 — Summer, Pleasant, Shepard and Vine streets. Between 1830 and 1840 there were but three streets opened in all this territory — Church and Tremont streets, opened in 1833, and a part of Neptune, from Vine to Commercial, opened in 1835; George, in 1846; Warren, in 1842; Prospect, in 1849: Harbor and Alley, in 1852; Blossom, in 1864 — it existed as a court some years prior to this date, extending on both sides of Summer street. Washington court, in 1843.

All the streets between Summer street and the sea, bounded by Commercial street on the east, and Western avenue on the west, were opened later than 1850, except Light, Minot, and a part of Neptune streets. These were opened in 1835. Lowell street was opened in 1841. Stickney, Ann and Charles streets were opened in 1850.

The territory bounded by Western avenue, Federal street, Water Hill street and the southwestern line of Ward Six, was not broken by a single street. River street was opened in 1833:

May court, in 1833. This court was opened through when Berkley street was laid out about 1854. Linden court was opened about 1835, and extended through to Cottage street about 1855. Cottage street was opened in 1845; Hood, in 1850; Nelson, in 1852; Allen, in 1868; Morris court, Camden street, and others in this vicinity, at a still later date.

Between Boston street — from Chestnut on the north, to North Federal on the south — and the high land on the west, there was no street, except the west end of Franklin, prior to 1844, when Grove street was opened.

The territory known as Pine Hill, bounded by Forest street, on the east, and Walnut street, on the south, contained no dwelling until 1850, when Nathaniel Holder built the first house on that eminence.

The entire tract of land lying north of Fayette street, from Gold Fish Pond to Collins street, thence following the line of Chestnut street to Western avenue, and thence to the northern boundary of the town, was one unbroken field and meadow, through which no street ran, except the section of Chatham street, between Essex and Collins streets — opened about 1825. Jackson street was opened in 1835, and Ingalls street in the same year.

Chatham street, east from Essex, was opened in 1853; Chatham, west from Collins, in 1858; Par-

rott, in 1860; Alice, in 1866; Dana, in 1871; Empire, in 1869; New Chatham, in 1871, and Brookline, Timson and Groveland streets, and others in that vicinity, still later.

A large part of the streets lying within the boundaries of North Common street on the south, Western avenue on the west, Essex street on the east, and the high lands on the north, were opened later than 1850. Washington street, from Essex to Laighton, in 1849 — thence to Boston street, in 1850. Hanover, Baker and Chase streets, in 1850; Johnson and Holton streets, in 1855; Harwood, in 1853; Brimblecom, in 1854, and Arlington — first opened as a court about 1849, and called Linden place — was extended to Baker street in 1870; Lloyd, in 1868; Lloyd court, in 1871; others in this immediate vicinity were opened, or extended, between this last date and 1873.

In Glenmere — formerly Gravesend — there was no street running from any of the old streets within the limits of the Ward — Chestnut, Turnpike, Maple and Boston streets — until later than 1860, except Lake street, which was opened in 1836. Bowler street was opened just before 1860. Nearly all the other new streets in this territory were opened a few years prior to 1873.

The opening of new streets, as well as other marks of growth and improvement, is usually seen in seasons of business prosperity. We have had

four such seasons since 1830. Between 1830 and 1837, and more especially the last two or three years of this period, was the first, and, perhaps, the most active season of real estate operations and speculation, if we take into account the difference in population and resources between that day and recent years. The second was chiefly between the years 1843 and 1847. The partial revulsion in business in 1847 checked real estate movements for awhile; but the stimulus given to all sorts of business enterprizes by the discovery of the Californian and Australian mines, a few years later, brought on a third period of intense commercial activity, which culminated in the panic of 1857. Lynn felt the stimulus, and did its full share in pushing forward improvements of every kind. Dollars were more plentiful than ever before. But they were not worth as much as usual. It took more of them to buy a barrel of flour than at any time since 1816. Some people don't see through this.

The fourth period began about 1864, and ended with the revulsion that came in the Fall of 1873. There were more miles of streets laid out during the four years ending at the last-named date than in any equal period of time since Lynn was settled. Things were done on a large scale. Not only short cross streets were cut, but streets and avenues of great length were opened, or projected, in the suburbs — where land was comparatively cheap —

enough to meet the wants of the city for a quarter of a century.

In 1831 there were sixty streets and courts in Lynn and Swampscott. In 1840 there were one hundred and three streets in Lynn and Swampscott. In 1844 there were two hundred and ten in Lynn. In 1853, two hundred and eighteen. In 1855, two hundred and twenty-nine. In 1857, two hundred and forty-three. In 1859, two hundred and seventy-two. In 1864, two hundred and eighty-nine. In 1866, three hundred and thirteen. In 1868, three hundred and twenty-eight. In 1870, three hundred and seventy-four. In 1872, four hundred and forty. In 1874, four hundred and sixty-five. In 1877, four hundred and seventy. In 1879, four hundred and eighty-one.

These figures, if not exact, are such an approximation as gives a clear idea of the comparative growth of Lynn during these several periods, so far as figures like these have a significance.

In 1879 we had one hundred and twenty-five miles of streets within the limits of the city. But little more than three-fourths of our streets have been accepted.

THE EARLY MOROCCO BUSINESS IN LYNN.

For the following facts relating to the early morocco business of Lynn the writer is chiefly indebted to a paper prepared by the late Joseph Moulton, twenty years ago. Mr. Moulton's intimate knowledge of the business for more than fifty years — being himself a pioneer in this branch of trade — and his intelligent appreciation of everything pertaining to the history of his native town, give a permanent value to his sketch.

For many of the facts of a later date the writer is indebted to John T. Moulton, son of the foregoing, who is now engaged in the same business, and known in the community as an intelligent inquirer into the history and traditions of his native place.

The manufacture of morocco was begun in Lynn about the year 1800. It may be well to give a few words in explanation of the origin of this term. The original Morocco leather was from the Barbary States — as its name might suggest — and the Levant. The English had learned the art of manufacturing it, and small quantities found their way to

this country, probably, quite early in the last century. Felt, in his "Customs of New England," makes mention of Morocco shoes as charged in the account book of a Boston merchant as early as 1740. From the advent of Dagyr, in 1750, down to 1800, a few Morocco goat skins, some English kid skins, and other skins "of all kinds," were imported. At this early period the dresser of morocco was looked upon as one possessing a secret too valuable to divulge. The business was regarded as an art rather than a trade; and the work was carried on behind darkened windows, so that none might steal a knowledge of the mysterious processes that transformed the unsightly pelt into a thing of beauty, fit to adorn the foot of princess or queen.

William Rose, an Englishman who had served a seven-years' apprenticeship in London, was the first to set up the business in Lynn. He purchased the estate between what is now Blossom and Shepard streets, comprising the site where now stands the fine mansion of Stephen Oliver, Jr. The factory of Mr. Rose — the first one established in Lynn — occupied, in part, this land. Mr. Rose did a very profitable business here for about eight years; as he had a monopoly of the business, the profits were large. But he gained no fortune. He belonged to that class — a numerous one — who do n't seem to understand that if the out-go is greater than the income — no matter how large the income — bank-

ruptcy comes sooner or later. This is what happened to Mr. Rose. His convivial habits and great generosity brought the balance on the wrong side of the ledger; and about the year 1809 he left Lynn, and made an unsuccessful attempt to establish himself in business in Charlestown. While Mr. Rose was in Lynn, Capt. Edward Carroll, father in-law of the late Philip P. Tapley, worked with him as an apprentice. Joshua R. Gore was the first to take up the morocco business in Lynn after the departure of Mr. Rose; but not succeeding in his attempt, he left and settled in New Haven. Francis Moore, a preceptor of the Lynn Academy, left his profession, and associating himself with Henry Healey, next made an unsuccessful attempt as a morocco dresser.

The next — probably — who took up the business were William B. and Joshua Whitney. They, too, were unsuccessful. Carter & Tarbell next established a very extensive business, but in the end accumulated no fortune. Samuel Mulliken, Major Daniel R. Witt and Joseph Mansfield now took up the business. As they left it soon after, it is presumed they found it unprofitable. This brings the business down to the close of the second war with Great Britain. The business from this time rapidly increased. Soon after, Capt. John Lovejoy, father of the late Elbridge Lovejoy, entered the business with a Mr. Stockwell, under the name

of Lovejoy & Stockwell. The brothers Brackett — Rufus, Newell and George — also engaged in this business. Then followed in the same line various firms and establishments by men whose names will at once be recognized by our old citizens — Breed & Damon, Nathan Reed, Peter Hay, Samuel Vial, Francis S. and Henry Newhall, Levi Robinson, William Gibson, Edward Carroll and Joseph Moulton.

In 1818 Francis S. Newhall entered the morocco business; and in 1822 formed a partnership with his brother Henry. From 1830 to 1834 this firm did a large part of the business then carried on in the town. Edward Carroll was their foreman at this time. They were the first to finish in fancy colors, and carried on business until 1849.

This was a time when profits were small and old-fashioned methods prevailed, both in the mechanical part of this handicraft, as well as in the general conduct of the trade. Those were the days of long credits; when future contingencies entered too largely into mercantile transactions to enable a man to strike a balance in his ledger with any degree of certainty.

From this time (nearly half a century ago) forward, this business increased rapidly in Lynn, and spread, to some extent, to the neighboring towns. The following record will show the date when the leading firms, as well as some establishments of less note, began operations in Lynn: Joseph Moulton be-

gan business in 1835. His operations were confined to the tanning branch of the trade. Darius Barry began business in 1836, on Commercial street, and continued there for two years. He then went to Boston, and remained until 1840. He then returned to Lynn, and in 1842 set up business near the corner of Washington and Munroe streets. Mr. Barry taught the mysteries of this art to several of our citizens, who afterward became prominent as manufacturers — Charles G. Clark, Nathan Clark, Horace Clark, Patrick Lennox, John and James Williams, and some thirty others.

Philip P. Tapley and Andrew Kelty, under the firm of Kelty & Tapley, began business in 1843. This continued three years. About a year after — 1847 — Mr. Tapley formed a connection with Hon. John B. Alley and Abner S. Moore, under the firm of Alley, Tapley & Co., for the purpose of manufacturing shoes and morocco. They had a store in Boston for the sale of leather, and shoe stock generally. In 1850 the firm dissolved, and Mr. Tapley conducted the morocco business in his own name. In November, 1850, Mr. Tapley introduced steam power into his factory — the first used in Lynn in this business. The factory stood on Broad street, near the foot of Union street. In 1858 he removed to his spacious new factory, now standing near the corner of Broad and Beach streets. One of the newspapers of the day stated "that this

was believed to be the largest and most complete of any in the United States, or the world."

Jacob S. Wentworth began business as a partner in the firm of Souther, Blaney & Co., in 1845, in Harrison Court. Mr. W. also finished in fancy colors. Thomas Roberts, George K. and Henry Pevear began business in 1847 on Munroe street. Mr. Roberts soon retired, the Messrs. Pevear continuing the business. Next to Mr. Tapley they were the largest manufacturers in the city some twenty years ago; and to-day they are probably the largest manufacturers in this section of the country. In 1844 John W. Blaney and John B. Souther established the "skiver" business under the firm of Souther & Blaney. This was the beginning of the tanning and finishing of skivers in Lynn. This firm gained a high repute as finishers in fancy colors, a branch — as was stated in the paper already quoted — "in which Mr. Blaney has become distinguished, and has no superior in the country." In 1849 Joseph Souther, Jr., entered the firm. In the summer of 1859 they set up a steam engine of ten-horse power, and run machines known as Green's patent for finishing kid and morocco.

In 1846 Mr. Kelty formed a partnership with Richard Drown, under the firm of Kelty & Drown. This continued until the death of Mr. Kelty, in 1868. Horace Clark began business in 1851, as a partner

in the firm of Perry, Smith & Co., located on Market street. In 1853 Smith and Clark took the business, and carried it on until 1857, when Mr. Clark purchased Mr. Smith's interest, and removed his business to the old stand of P. P. Tapley, on Broad street — foot of Union street. Shortly after his removal he formed a partnership with his brother Nathan. Charles G. and Nathan Clark began business in 1851, on Market street. The next year they removed to Munroe street, to the factory formerly occupied by Darius Barry. In 1857 they built their new factory — then one of the finest in the city — on the same street, and removed their business into it. After Nathan's retirement from the firm, his brother conducted the business, and has carried it on up to the present time.

In 1852 William A. Kelly began business on Market street. He remained there until 1859, when he built a new factory on Munroe street. This, also, was spoken of as one of the "best in the city." Mr. Kelly has likewise continued business at the old stand up to the present time.

In 1852 John B. Souther and David Burns formed a partnership, and located themselves on Market street, in the building formerly occupied by John Lovejoy. Thomas Roberts began business under the firm of Roberts & York. This firm dissolved in 1856, and Mr. Roberts continued the business at the old stand on Munroe street. Patrick Lennox

began business in 1853, on Broad street. He afterward removed to Harrison court. Being a first-class mechanic, his trade rapidly increased, and in 1858 he removed his business to Market street, near his present location. He soon after introduced steam and machinery for finishing morocco. In 1871 he built his fine brick factory on the corner of Market street and Harrison court, where he is still doing a very extensive business.

John Williams began business in 1854, on Broad street. His brother James succeeded him, and continued the business for several years. A. B. Martin began business in 1855, in company with Moses Norris, on Broad street. He soon after removed to Market street, and in 1864 he removed his factory buildings, and added a new extension of some sixty feet. In 1866 he still further enlarged it by an addition of eighty feet in length, making it one of the most extensive factories at that time in Lynn. During the present year (1879) he has made another large addition to his factory, and it is now, doubtless, the largest building devoted to this purpose north of New York city. Mr. Martin's business has increased rapidly, and at present he is probably one of the largest manufacturers of morocco in New England.

Charles Carroll — son of Edward, above mentioned — began business in 1856, on Broad street, in company with his brother Edward, Jr. The

firm was dissolved in 1859 by the death of Edward, and Charles continued the business until 1862. In 1858 William S. Post, John Donallan and Isaac S. French began business under the firm of Post, Donallan & Co. Their factory was on Boston street, and they had a salesroom on South Common street. Robert M. Coffee began business in 1858, on Spring street. He afterward removed to Market street. The firm of Oliver & Smith was established in 1858, on Market street. Mr. Smith began the tannery business in 1839, with Mr. Perry, already mentioned.

Benjamin F. Clements began business in 1858, and continued until 1864, when he entered the firm of P. P. Tapley & Co. Andrew Caraher began business in 1859, at No. 9 Broad street. C. F. Winchester began business in 1849, at Dye-House Village, now Wyoma. His branch was the "pulling" and tanning of sheep skins. William Lummus succeeded Mr. Winchester in this branch of the business.

The amount of business done by the six largest firms in the morocco business in 1860 was as follows: P. P. Tapley, $100,000: Pevear & Co., $96,000; J. Souther, Jr., & Co., $75,000; C. G. & N. Clark, $50,000; Souther & Burns, $46,000; Oliver & Smith, $40,000. The whole amount of business for 1859 was $695,000.

THE MOROCCO BUSINESS SINCE 1860.

Since 1859 the morocco trade, like the shoe business upon which it depends, has experienced a revolution. The civil war brought about conditions that stimulated every branch of industry to an extent never before known, and few received a greater impetus than the shoe business, and all the industries dependent upon it. The increased purchasing power of the buyer made such a demand for all these products that new methods were required to meet the growing wants of the people. The morocco manufacturers found it necessary to call to their aid machinery and new methods, and these necessitated more extensive factories, more hands, and larger capital.

The aggregate amount of business done, is, therefore, very much greater than it was in 1860, and is constantly increasing; the firms who were in the business having multiplied their facilities for manufacture with the increasing demands of the trade.

It is a singular fact that, with a few exceptions, the business is still carried on by those who were engaged in it more than twenty years ago, or by their successors educated in their employ.

The introduction of machinery to supersede many of the old hand processes, has lessened the cost of production, so that, with the raw material still very much higher in price than twenty years ago, the

manufactured article is as low, or lower, than at that time. All the varieties of kid and morocco skins were then sold by the dozen; now they are surveyed, and the measurement of each skin in square feet marked upon its flesh side. Once, that shoe manufacturer was the best buyer who could judge best of the measure of a lot of skins by examination, now no exercise of judgment in that direction is at all requisite.

The workmen have always received a fair remuneration for their labor: and, since the introduction of machinery into the shoe business, very much steadier employment than those engaged in that trade; for the reason that, in the manufacture of morocco, the use of machinery can hasten, only to a certain extent, those natural methods and chemical combinations employed for the production of tanned leather. Time is needed for the depilatory process, that is, for removing the hair from the skin without injury to its texture, and further time is needed for the tanning process after the hair is properly removed. Therefore, only a limited amount of business can be done in a certain length of time. This makes it necessary that the business should be prosecuted during the entire year, that the manufacturer may be prepared for the seasons of activity in the shoe trade.

As the vats, and other appliances, are partially in the earth, and the buildings must be constructed

with regard to their adaptability to this particular craft, and as it, therefore, requires considerable capital to be invested in these fixtures, which, unused, are comparatively worthless, those who engage in the trade do it with the calculation of making it a settled business. This has, undoubtedly, deterred many from undertaking it, who would do so, provided they could leave it as easily as they might enter it. Another requisite to success in this business is that which commands success in any business — an education in the trade, a personal acquaintance with the details of the processes employed, and the exercise of proper judgment in each.

From the best information that can be obtained the whole amount of business now done (1880) is about $2,000,000, or nearly three times the amount carried on twenty years ago.

There are at the present time twenty-three establishments engaged in this business; but a few of these are, for the most part, dealers rather than manufacturers.

Some eight of the largest firms do four-fifths of this entire amount, and three of the largest reach an aggregate of about $1,000,000.

THE TRANSITION PERIOD.

As already intimated in a former chapter, the revolution in the methods of carrying on the shoe trade in all its branches began with the introduction of the sewing machine in 1852. Slight advantages in the way of improved kit had been gained before. As early as 1834 an "edge iron" was introduced to polish — or "sleek," as the shoemakers called it — the heavy edges of "welts" and "imitation," in place of the old-fashioned "shoulder-stick." This iron is in the writer's possession, and upon it is inscribed — "This is the first double-iron ever made; invented by John Johnson, and made by Aaron Tufts, Lynn." The term "double" meant that it had two "shoulders," one on each side — one for the thickest edges, the other for the lightest. As the iron could be heated, this "hot kit" gave the edges a polish and solidness which the wooden "shoulder-stick" could not do. A veteran shoemaker informs the writer that he used such an iron before the above date. "Soap stones" were also used, to some extent, to polish the edges in making "heavy work."

Several other small inventions, each one slight in itself, improved the art of the shoemaker, making the work of his hands better as the years went on. Two more important improvements were made prior to 1852 — patterns for "rounding on" the soles, and "block" lasts, which superseded the use of "instep-leathers." (This piece of kit was inadvertently omitted in the list given in a previous chapter.) The "instep-leather" in the hands of the old-time shoemaker was not exactly an enchanter's rod; but he could do wonders with it by skillful manipulation. If he wished to make a "slim" shoe he would not push it so far toward the toe. If the boss told him to make 'em "full" then no such caution was used, and perhaps a wedge would be driven in besides. Good workmen had several instep-leathers, so as to meet all emergencies; but the poor workman — poor in skill and poorer in purse — often had but one, which was made to play fast and loose along a sliding scale of geometrical proportions between the widest extremes of "slim" and "full." One can imagine the comments made as a lot of these shoes were examined by the "boss." "Uncle Jim! what did you 'sew these shoes out' so for; did n't you have any instep-leather?" Then the boss would try to get his hand down toward the toe, but could n't. Then he would take up another pair, and put his hand in each shoe by turns. "That 's about right,

Uncle Jim, full enough, plenty;" and so, perhaps, Uncle Jim consoled himself with the thought that he had made the average about right. One lot of these shoes would sometimes fulfill pretty much all conditions of "fullness" and "slimness." And so one would hear in the retail stores — "Have you a pair of fives, slim?" The dealer, not knowing exactly where to look, would examine all the fives he had, and when he found a pair that he supposed were about right, one of them could be got on the foot, but the other could n't. This illustrates the science of those times. The "block" last swept away this relic of mechanical barbarism, and brought uniformity of fullness out of the chaos of uncertainty, by making it necessary for the workman to "last" the upper down snug over the block. The instep-leather thus came to an end, and no longer tempted the genius of the sons of Crispin. The sole-pattern gave uniformity of shape and width, as the block-last had made certain the uniformity of fullness, and so these two essential conditions in the shoemaker's art were secured.

It is now but little more than thirty years since the practice of making lasts of regularly graded widths was adopted. Before this time, shoes were classed in two general divisions, *wide* and ***narrow***, *full* and *slim*, the wide being generally full, and the narrow generally slim, but not always. As already shown, a good deal of uncertainty hung

over it. When some one having an eye to method made known the plan of labelling the narrowest lasts used "A," next in width "B," and so on to "D," a long stride was taken, though it now seems so simple a thing.

What was called the "Kimball" last was introduced about 1848. This was the first really scientific last used in the making of ladies' shoes. Each set of these lasts had "sliding blocks" that fitted into a groove in the last, each block marked "slim," "medium," or "full." This gave all grades of fullness. Other block-lasts were afterward used, and more especially when the work came to be done in the large factories. This block was sawed out from the top of the last, and regular graded fullness was secured by having the uppers lasted down snug to the block when it was in its proper place. (Similar block-lasts had long been in use in making men's boots and shoes.) This shut out all uncertainty, and left the workman no room for the display of originality. As, by this arrangement, each last was made of the required fullness there was no chance for any mistake that might have come from the use of the wrong block, when there were three or four of them of different degrees of fullness belonging to each set of lasts. These lasts were also graded according to width; each last of each set being marked. There were four

grades, A, B, C and D; A representing the narrowest, and D the widest.

Almost simultaneously with this improvement in lasts, was the introduction of the "Congress Boot." This invention consisted in the insertion of a "rubber gore" on either side of the top of the boot. Its elasticity obviated the necessity of the "lace," which is indispensable when non-elastic material is used. This style became very popular on account of its convenience. The patent for Essex county was granted to Charles Winslow, of Lynn, near the close of 1848.

BINDING SHOES.

The introduction of the sewing machine, soon made the old-fashioned method of binding shoes by hand well nigh a lost art. The machine at first did its work but indifferently well; but improvements were soon made that overcame all the essential difficulties that lay in the way of complete success. The saving of labor was so great, and the nicety of the work, which could be done with almost mathematical exactness, was so far beyond the old-time product of the hand-needle that in a few years the shoe-binder, and her mission, became historical reminiscences. But these reminiscences are worthy a place in these pages.

The shoe-binder of Lynn performed a very im-

portant part in the domestic economy of the household thirty, or more, years ago. The shoemaker's wife and daughters — if he had any — were often his best bowers, enabling him to weather many a financial tempest — on a small scale — and were often the chief reliance when the head of the family, through sickness, or other causes, could no longer work to support the family. As the wife and daughters "bound" the shoes made by the workmen of the family, the "uppers," all ready to "bind," with the needful silk, cotton and thread, and sometimes beeswax, made part of the load carried home in the "little cart," or in some other way, from the boss' shop. Then there would be a little delay, perhaps, until a shoe was bound, with which to start off the new lot.

But, generally, before the "jour" got his "stock" seasoned, one or two "uppers" were ready, and enough were usually bound ahead to keep all hands at work. And so, now and then, the order would be heard — "Come, John, go and see if your mother has got a shoe bound: I'm all ready to last it." It may be well to notice here that the "jours" often called the "uppers" *shoes*, and the soles "*stuff*." Accordingly, one would hear the remark — "The 'boss' didn't give me 'stuff' enough," — meaning soles — or, "Come, William, go over to [illegible] and get me a lot of shoes and 'stuff.'" [illegible]

tionaries do not recognize this use of the word "stuffs," but the shoemakers did.

The style of "uppers" in vogue some forty years ago, and later, was a "foxed" boot. This foxing was of kid, with lasting top, and the boot laced in front. A few years later the "gaiter boot" came into fashion, which usually had a lower foxing, and the "lace" on the side. These were usually made "right" and "left." The binding of these boots, when it was done well, was quite a nice job. The price of binding ranged from seventeen to twenty-five cents a pair, and a smart woman could bind four pairs a day, and sometimes even more.

It will be seen that such help was no small item in maintaining the family. Many a little home was earned by "all hands," father and mother, boys and girls, who worked for years, cheered by the hope of paying off the mortgage, so that they could have a "house of their own." The following verses, written by Lucy Larcom, and found in a volume of her poems, may not be out of place here:

HANNAH BINDING SHOES.

Poor lone Hannah,
Sitting at the window, binding shoes.
Faded, wrinkled,
Sitting, stitching, in a mournful muse.
Bright-eyed beauty once was she,
When the bloom was on the tree:

Spring and winter
Hannah 's at the window, binding shoes.

Not a neighbor
Passing nod or answer will refuse.
To her whisper,
"Is there from the fishers any news?"
O, her heart's adrift, with one
On an endless voyage gone!
Night and morning,
Hannah 's at the window, binding shoes.

Fair young Hannah,
Ben, the sun-burnt fisher, gayly woos.
Hale and clever.
For a willing heart and hand he sues.
Mid-day skies are all aglow.
And the waves are laughing so!
For her wedding,
Hannah leaves her window and her shoes.

May is passing:
Mid the apple boughs a pigeon coos.
Hannah shudders,
For the mild southwester mischief brews.
Round the rocks of Marblehead:
Outward bound, a schooner sped:
Silent, lonesome,
Hannah 's at the window, binding shoes.

'T is November,
Now no tear her wasted cheek bedews.
From Newfoundland
Not a sail returning will she lose.
Whispering hoarsely, "Fishermen
Have you, have you heard of Ben?"
Old with watching,
Hannah 's at the window, binding shoes.

Twenty winters
Bleach and tear the ragged shore she views.
Twenty seasons:
Never one has brought her any news.
Still her dim eyes silently
Chase the white sails o'er the sea:
Hopeless, faithful,
Hannah 's at the window, binding shoes.

But the introduction of the sewing machine ended all this, and soon were seen the stitching shops in different parts of the city, (Lynn became a city in 1850,) and the peculiar rattle of the machine made a new music more suggestive of industry than of the harmony of sweet sounds. These shops were sometimes small buildings standing by themselves, but more frequently rooms fitted up in some part of the shoe factory. But these machines were destined to have a wider use than that afforded by the stitching shop of the shoe manufacturer. They soon found their way into almost every house to be used, not only for the various kinds of work required in stitching "uppers," but for every kind of sewing needed in the household.

Soon after the sewing machine was brought into use the whirligig of time brought heeled shoes — for ladies — again into fashion. This style had prevailed for some time prior to 1830, when the "spring heel" gradually led the way to no heel at all, a few years after this date. About 1855, the demand for heeled shoes again began, and with this

demand began the practice of employing the "jours" to work in the factories of the manufacturers to "heel" the shoes. From this grew up that specialty in the shoemaker's trade known as "heeling." A man working exclusively at this branch of the craft soon became an expert, even though he knew nothing else of the art of shoemaking. The "heeling" was afterward subdivided into "nailing," "shaving," "blacking" and "polishing;" and from this gradually came that minute division which is now the marked feature in this business, distinguishing the new order of things from the old. Before this time the shoemaker got his "stock" in the crudest form; sometimes cutting the soles from part of a side of leather, and making the shoes complete in everything pertaining to the "bottoms," so that when it left his hands it was ready for the foot of the wearer. The period was now reached when the great change took place. The revolution in the shoe business occurred during the ten years ending 1865. From 1855, or a little later, the workmen began to leave the "little shop" to work in the factories of the manufacturers; and in a few years vacant shops were seen all over the city, until most of them were transformed into hen-houses or coal-pens, or were moved and joined to some house to make a snug little kitchen. Some of the larger ones were sold to men of slender means to be finished off into a tenement, eked out,

perhaps, by a small addition, that made it look very much like a house. A few still linger among us, characteristic mementoes of the olden time; and fewer still are occupied by the small number of veteran shoemakers — for the most part — who could not find it an easy thing to break up the associations of long years, and so "stood by" the "old shop," and did a little "hand work" for those manufacturers who made no "machine work," or whose business included both kinds.

The introduction of the McKay machine, in 1862, made as complete a revolution in the work of the shoemaker as the stitching machine had done for the binder. To those not familiar with the "craft" it may be interesting to know why this was so. The machine-made shoe is, as a matter of necessity, a doubled-soled shoe: and, hence, took the place, in a great degree, of the old hand-made "welt." This hand-made welted shoe required two seams, the inner seam, or the sewing-in of the welt — and upper — and the "stitching," or sewing together of the welt and the outer sole. The average time required in sewing each of these seams was not less than fifteen minutes, or half an hour for each shoe, or an hour for each pair. The McKay machine, by sewing directly through inner sole, upper and outer sole, substituted one seam for two; and when it was worked by "power," such was the expedition of its movements that eighty pairs an hour have

been stitched upon it, giving less than twenty-three seconds to each shoe.

The McKay machine was first run by foot power. The introduction of steam power into the shoe factory did not become general until some years after the McKay machine came into use. Steam, as a motive power to facilitate the making of shoes, was first introduced into the factory of John Wooldredge, in 1858. It was used to run a machine for making heels. Mr. Wooldredge also merits the distinction — as mentioned in a preceding chapter — of having introduced the sewing machine into Lynn.

Soon after the close of the war, in 1865, the introduction of steam became general in all the large shoe factories. The use of the McKay machine suggested the economy of steam power: and it also suggested, and almost made necessary, a dozen minor inventions — mostly the products of the mechanics engaged in the craft — some of them exceedingly ingenious and effective in saving labor. This brought about the division of work already alluded to, and classified it into separate departments.

To show how minute is the division of labor in the shoe factory of to-day, the following list, showing the number of operatives employed upon the different parts, will well illustrate:

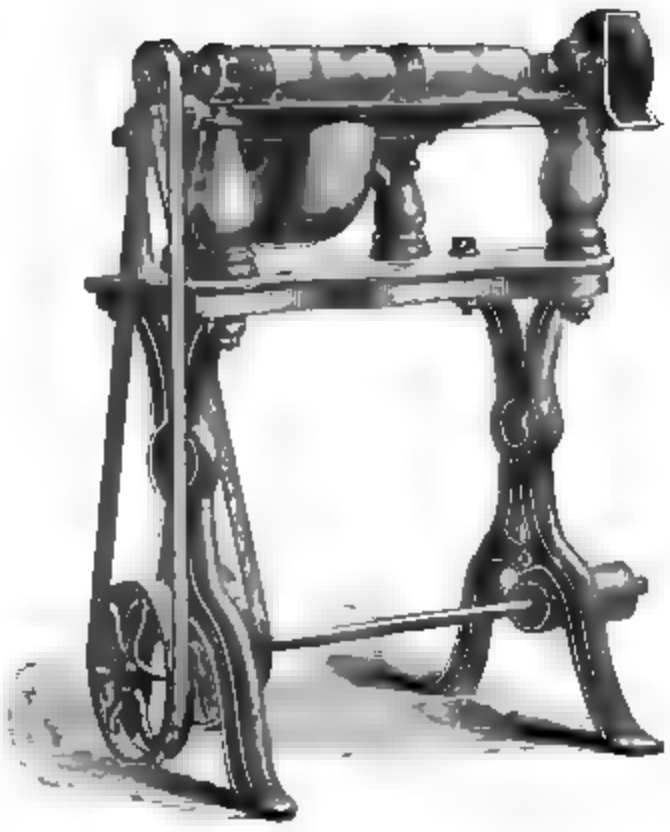
Beginning with the sole cutter — 1, stripper: 2, sole-cutter: 3, sorter: 4, tier-up.

Beginning now with the upper stock in the cutting-room — 1, outside cutter; 2, lining cutter; 3, trimming cutter; 4, dier-out.

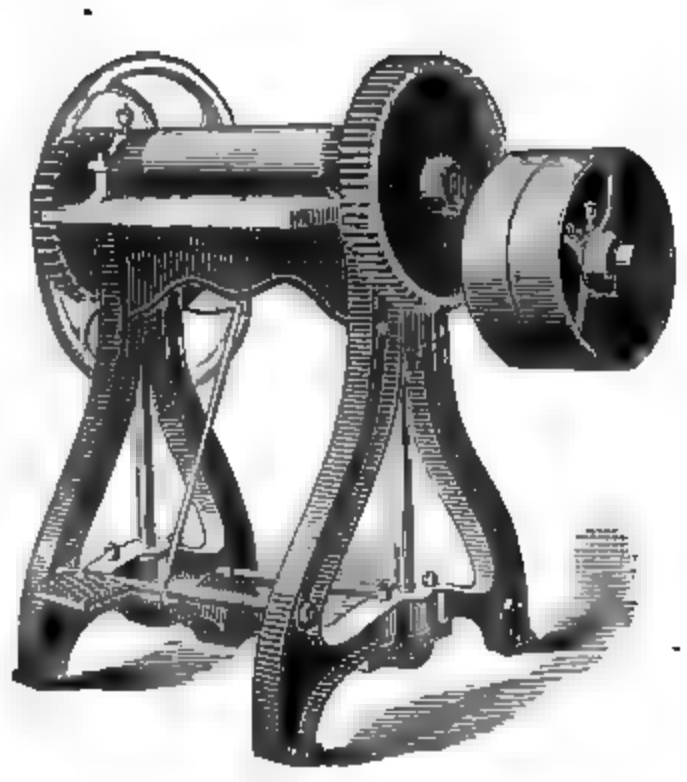
When the uppers reach the stitching shop they pass — 5, into the hands of the lining maker; 6, closer; 7, seam-rubber; 8, back-stayer; 9, front-stayer; 10, closer-on; 11, turner; 12, top-stitcher; 13, button-hole cutter; 14, corder; 15, vamper; 16, button sewer-on.

The uppers and bottom stock are now taken to the lasting — or finishing — room. As we have already seen, the bottom stock has passed through four processes, ending with the tier-up. These, added to the sixteen through which the uppers have passed, make twenty before they reach the hands of the stock-fitter. From this point the process goes on — 21, stock-fitter; 22, laster; 23, sole-layer; 24, stitcher; 25, beater-out; 26, trimmer; 27, setter; 28, liner; 29, nailer; 30, shaver; 31, buffer; 32, burnisher; 33, channeller. To these is sometimes added a channel-turner. Boys usually perform these minor parts.

And these various processes, minute as they seem, give but a partial view of the multiplied divisions that have already taken place. To illustrate this still further: In some of the manufactories the "nailing" and "shaving" are done by a McKay "nailer and shaver." A boy "sets" the nails, a single stroke of the machine fastens them, and a



AMERICAN BUFFER.



AMERICAN POWER ROLLER.

circular motion of the machine shaves the heel with geometrical exactness at one cut, and in an instant of time. The boys who perform these minor parts gain a nimbleness of manipulation that gives them an expertness hardly possible to be gained by older hands. These forty, more or less, distinct operations will soon become fifty, and the end is not yet. But perfection is never reached. New inventions still spring from the brain of the ingenious mechanic, and inferior contrivances drop into oblivion, or find their way to the cabinets of antiquarians.

All the adjuncts of the shoe business grew up, chiefly, during this transition period. Among others was —

SOLE-CUTTING.

The sole-cutting business of Lynn grew up from very small beginnings. From the best information obtainable, David H. Estes, of Ward Seven, seems to have been the pioneer in the business of selling *cut* sole leather. But he cut no soles. He bought the odds and ends of leather, and cut them into inner-soles and stiffenings, selling them to those manufacturers that had need of such supplies. This was about the year 1845. Mr. Estes' business increased, but he confined it, mainly, to the cheaper grades of soles, inner-soles and stiffenings. He continued in this business until his death, in December, 1878.

A year or two later John Spinney engaged in the same business, in a small way, in connection with the shoe business. About the same time Perry Newhall began business in the same line, cutting, at first, only cheap soles, stiffenings, etc., obtained from "roundings." This was the term used by curriers who "rounded off" with their knife the shank, or that part of the hide that was unfit for "upper" leather. Sole leather, which, in old times, came untrimmed — that is, was sent to market in full sides, including skirts, bellies, shanks, etc., was afterward trimmed, or "cropped" before being shipped, and hence took the name of "cropped" leather. Mr. Newhall's business at first was confined to the cutting of these "roundings;" but as the shoe trade of the town grew, a demand arose for cut soles ready to hand.

As already intimated, the supply of a certain sort of soles would accumulate in the hands of the old-time manufacturer. In the season of "heavy work" thick soles would be in demand, and there would be a surplus of light soles; and in the season of "light work" the reverse of this would occur.

As the shoe interest of the city became larger, the want of an arrangement was felt by which the bosses could dispose of their surplus stock. The early sole dealers, and Mr. Newhall especially, met this want. At first their business was dealing in soles, rather than cutting them. As Mr. New-

hall went the rounds among his customers, one would inform him that he had a lot of "heavy" or "light" soles, as the case may have been. Mr. Newhall — having, perhaps, a customer for them, in his eye — would buy his heavy soles and sell him a lot of light ones.

Gradually he took up the sole-cutting business in all its departments: supplying every grade, from the heaviest to the lightest. Mr. Newhall was, doubtless, the pioneer in this business, covering the whole field of sole-cutting. He is still in business, the veteran, as well as the pioneer, of a trade that has since reached such vast proportions.

Thomas Hicks Attwill began the business soon after Mr. Newhall. Like those who went before him, he began by cutting "roundings," and confined his trade chiefly to cheap soles, stiffenings, etc. As business extended he cut a larger variety of soles, though he bought and cut few whole sides. He continued in business until the close of 1852.

In January, 1853, his son, Theodore Attwill, took up the business. He cut soles of every grade, and as the demand for cut soles rapidly increased, he soon became the leading dealer in everything pertaining to this branch of the trade. He also dealt largely in sole leather. Mr. Attwill retired from this business in 1877.

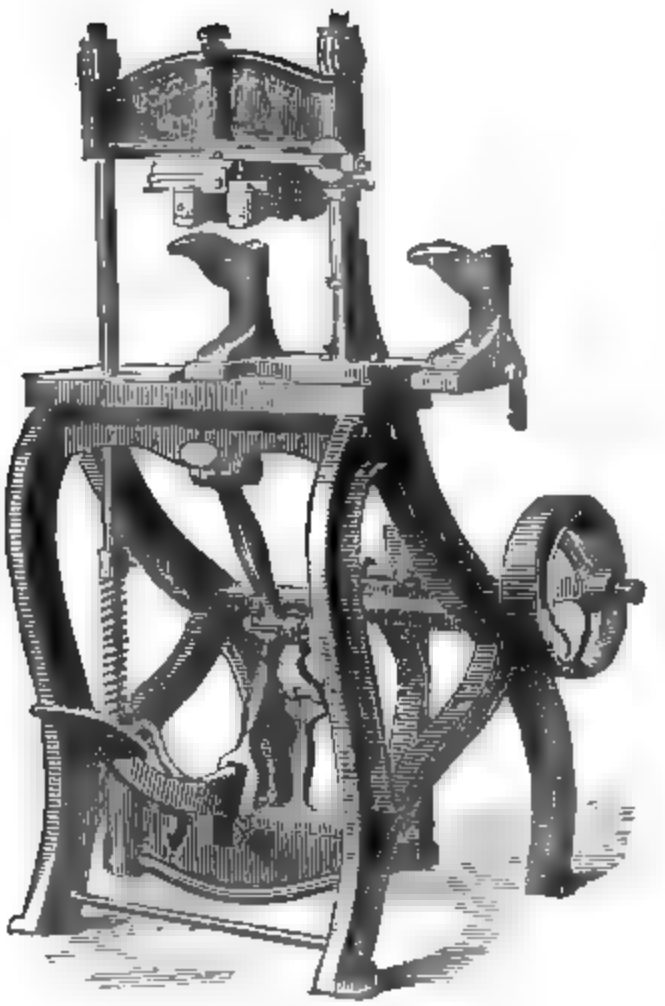
William A. Bacheller began business in 1854. His trade, like others, at first was small, and con-

fined to the cutting of "roundings" and pieces into stiffenings and cheap soles. His trade increased, and he soon did a large business in sole-cutting in all its branches. He is still engaged in business in Bubier's Block, on the west side of Market street.

George E. Batcheller, brother of William, began business in 1856. Like others who did business when this trade was a new industry, Mr. Batcheller cut few soles at first; but his trade increased until his business covered the whole field of sole-cutting. Mr. Batcheller is still engaged in business in Sweetser's Block, on Railroad avenue, near Union street.

About 1860 Samuel Boyce began the business of sole-cutting, to some extent, in connection with the manufacture of shoes; but his business was small in this line, until the revival of business, soon after the beginning of the war. His trade then largely increased, and continued until his death, in 1875.

In January, 1860, Peter Johnson and C. A. Johnson formed a partnership. Their shop was on Spring street. They continued in business one year. Peter, soon after, established himself on the corner of Railroad avenue and Willow street. He cut children's soles chiefly, this branch of the trade having grown rapidly during the few preceding years. In 1866 he formed a partnership with his son, H. F. Johnson. Their place of business was on Union street, a few rods east of Washington street. Mr. Johnson retired from the firm near the



AMERICAN BEATING-OUT MACHINE

close of 1871, when a new one was formed of H. F. & Herbert, a younger brother. They have done a thriving business, confining their trade entirely to the cutting and sale of children's soles.

In 1861 Christopher Johnson, Jr., Martin H. Hood and C. A. Johnson entered the sole-cutting business, under the firm of Johnson, Hood & Co. They did a very large business, and cut soles of every grade. In 1868 C. A. Johnson withdrew, and the business was continued by the remaining partners of the firm. Thomas C. Johnson then became a partner, the firm being known as Johnson, Hood & Co.

In April, 1871, Christopher Johnson, Jr., withdrew, and set up business in the basement of the bank building, on Exchange street. The firm continued the business at the old stand until the Fall of 1879, when they changed their quarters to the new block of Walter S. Dickson, standing between Central avenue and Willow street. The firm then became known as Hood, Johnson & Co. Soon after their removal, a branch of their business — sometime before established — removed to the old stand. It is at present the largest establishment of the kind in the city, and probably in the world.

In the Fall of 1871 Christopher Johnson, Jr., removed his business to the block of Benjamin F. Spinney, corner of Union and Almont streets. His trade increased rapidly, and in 1873 his business

rivalled that of any establishment in the city. Mr. Johnson retired from business in 1874.

Edwin Hulen began business in 1860, in West Lynn. Mr. Hulen did a moderate business until his death, in 1865.

Asa Mullen began business about 1860. He retired from business in 1872.

James P. Boyce began business in 1863. Mr. Boyce did a large business until 1870, when he retired. His successors, James A. Breed and James Hilliker, under the firm of Breed & Hilliker, followed in the same line, and are still doing business at the same stand.

Eustis Newhall began business in 1864. He was the pioneer in cutting men's soles. Mr. Newhall is now doing business on Willow street, facing Munroe street. He has lately increased his business, and has now (1880) one of the largest establishments in the city.

George & Brother began business on Exchange street in 1865. They soon after removed to their present location, a few rods east, on the same street. Their business steadily increased, and during the last few years their establishment has been one of the largest in the city. They are still in business.

David Boynton began business in 1865, on Washington street, near the railroad. He has always done a large business, and has made a specialty of cutting men's soles. He occupied this store ten

years. In 1875 he formed a partnership with William H. Bancroft, and removed to Sweetser's new block, on the corner of Washington and Oxford streets. The destruction of this block by fire in 1878 caused their removal to the next building, where they are now located. Their trade in men's soles is the largest in the city, and their sales to outside buyers, far and near, is larger than that of any other establishment.

Proctor & Ingalls began business in 1865, in the basement of Lucian Newhall's block, on Exchange street. This firm has always done a large business. The have occupied their present store, on Union street, a few rods from the corner of Exchange street, since 1872.

William A. Attwill began business about 1866, on North Common street. He continued in the trade but a short time.

Brown & Oliver began business in 1866, on Boston street, near the Saugus line. They removed to the basement of J. N. Smith's block, on Union street, in 1873. They removed to their present stand, on Central avenue, in 1877. They have done, and are still doing, quite a large business.

Jeremiah L. Libbey began business in 1865, on Union street. In 1879 he took his son as partner, the firm now being known as J. L. Libbey & Son. Mr. Libbey has always done a large business.

Hill & Lothrop began business in 1869. In 1871

Robert Bartlett & Son took the business, and carried it on till 1878, when the son retired, and Mr. Bartlett senior continued the business. His present location is in the basement of Bubier's Block, on the west side of Market street.

Lothrop & Bowen began business near the close of 1872, on Union street. They soon after removed to their present location in Haskell's Block, opposite. Their trade has steadily increased, and they now do a large business.

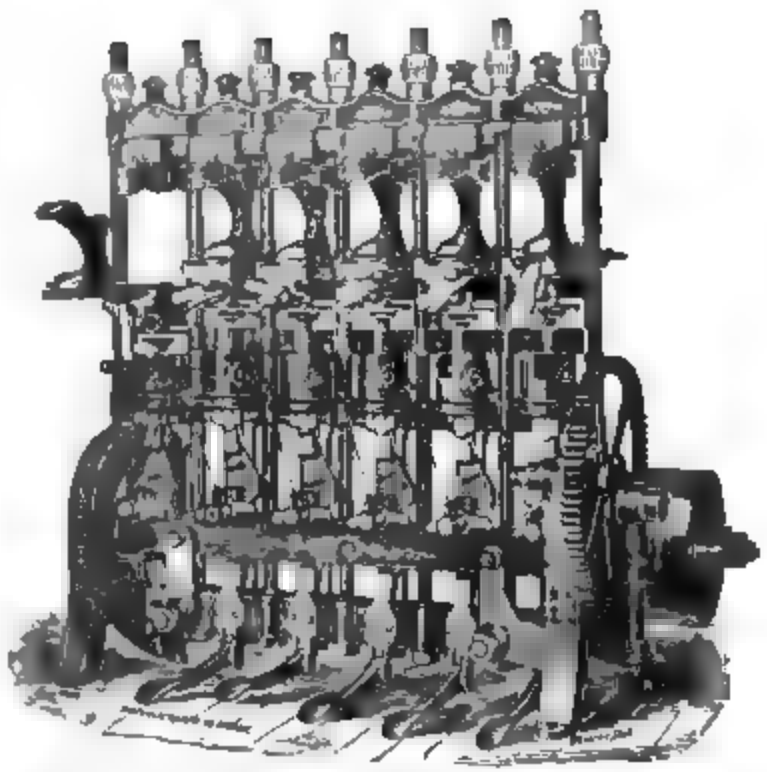
Walter S. Dickson began business in 1873. His trade increased rapidly, and in 1879 he removed to his new block, at the east end of the triangle between Willow street and Central avenue.

Charles E. Harwood began business as a sole cutter in 1867, in connection with the sale of heels, and the cutting of stiffenings, etc. He cuts, chiefly, soles of a cheaper grade. His present place of business is on Union street, opposite Sweetser's Block.

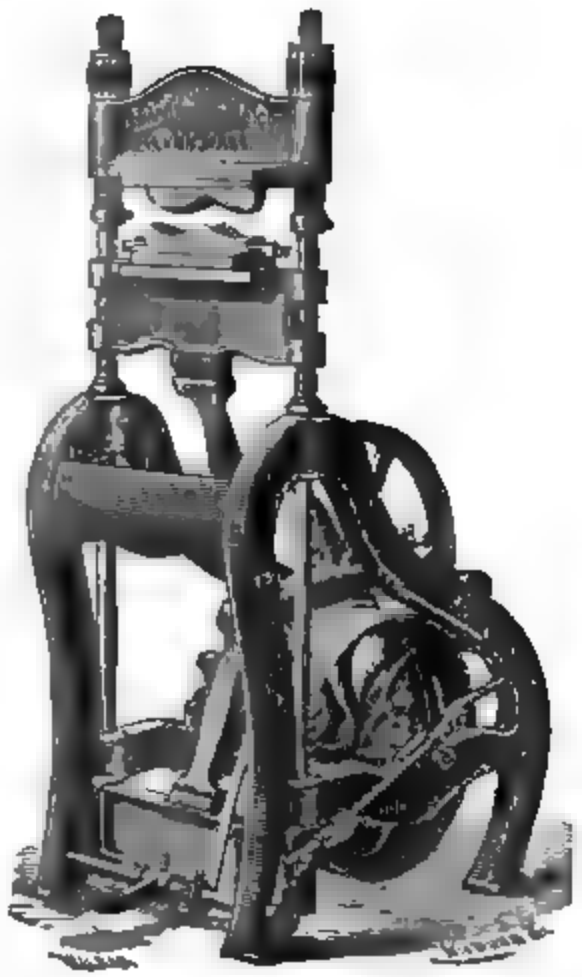
W. W. George began business in 1879. He is doing a large and increasing business.

Charles H. Libbey & Son began business in 1879, on Union street, near the head of Washington street.

Rufus E. Hilliard began business the present year (1880) in the basement of Sweetser's Block, corner of Oxford street and Central avenue. His



IMPROVED AMERICAN BEATING-OUT MACHINE.



AMERICAN POWER SOLE MOULDER

trade has rapidly increased, and he is now doing a large business.

T. W. Tyler & Co. have lately taken up the business of cutting a cheap grade of soles, in connection with their business as dealers in rubber goods.

Besides the business done by those who confine themselves to this branch of trade exclusively, there are thousands of pairs cut and sold annually by some of our large shoe manufacturers, besides those needed for their own use. Some of these, whose business requires a heavy grade of soles, accumulate a stock of a lighter grade. These they sell. Others, whose trade is in a cheaper kind of shoe, have a surplus of high-priced soles which they dispose of.

This business is almost exclusively a Lynn industry. Very few soles are cut — to sell — elsewhere. Haverhill does something in this line; but her trade, as compared with that of Lynn, is insignificant. The trade of our city in cut leather reaches all over the country, and it is estimated that from one-third to one-half of the entire product is sold to dealers in other places.

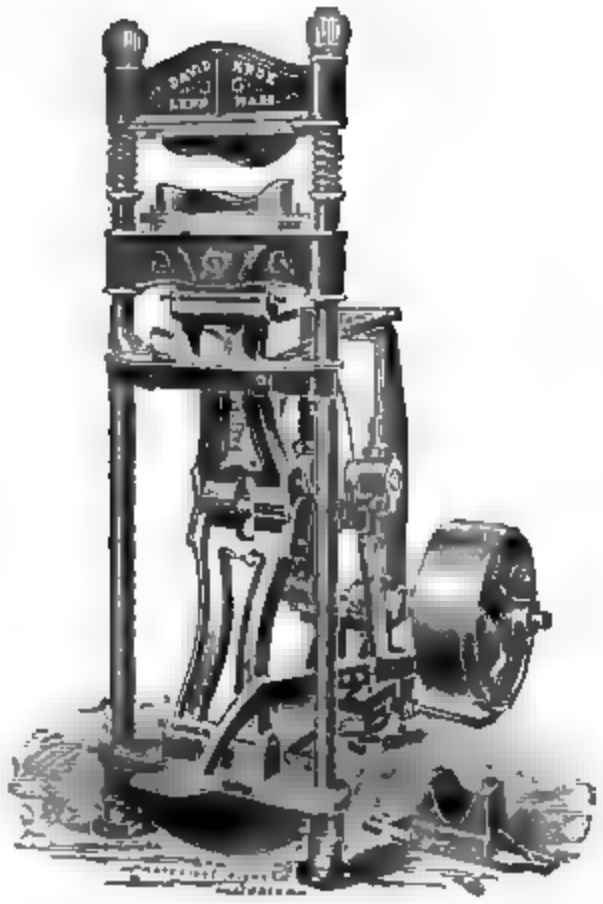
As already mentioned in the "General Review" the first sole-cutting machine used in Lynn was invented by Richard Richards, of Lynn, in 1844. Shortly after, George Foster made some improvements in this machine: and still later John Thompson, of Marblehead, added some new features.

which were patented. These machines had two revolving knives, each blade turning and cutting one side of the sole alternately. One or two other machines, acting on different principles, were used for a short time.

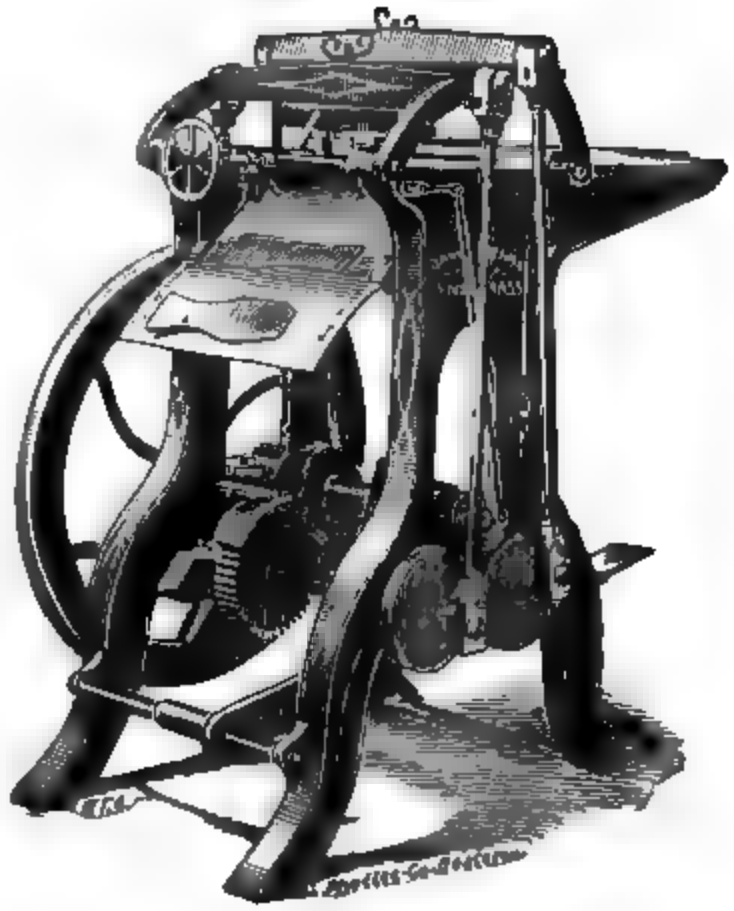
In 1860 David Knox, an ingenious mechanic of Lynn, made a radical improvement in the machines in use, for which he obtained a patent. The peculiarity consisted in the reciprocal motion of the two knives, which, playing on a short arm, cut alternately each side of the sole, as each blade descended by turns into the same groove of the cutting block. This machine soon superseded all others in use.

To illustrate the economy of labor which this machine brought about, it is only necessary to say that the old-time cutter, standing at the "leather-board," could cut by hand — if smart — *ten* middling sized sides of leather a day. An active man, with one of these machines, can cut *two hundred and fifty sides*, after they have been cut into strips by the "stripper," as described in a previous chapter.

These machines have been generally run by steam power in the large establishments since 1872. This does not much accelerate the movement; but it saves the strength of the operative, and especially the muscles of the right leg, upon which there was a constant strain when the machine was run by "foot power:" and it goes, besides, with a steadi-



SOLE AND STIFFENING MOULDER.



BLANK SOLE CUTTER

ness of motion that saves the wear and tear of the machine.

In the "General Review"—page 19—the "stripper" was mentioned as *preceding* the "sole cutter." Its use was nearly simultaneous, or followed immediately.

The following figures, from a statement prepared by George W. Mudge, who is authority on all matters relating to this branch of trade, will give some idea of the magnitude of this business:

"During the past year there has been cut four hundred and eight thousand seven hundred and twenty (4087,20) sides, weighing six millions seven hundred and forty-three thousand eight hundred and eighty (6,743,880) pounds, being a weekly average of seven thousand eight hundred and sixty (7,860) sides, weighing one hundred and twenty-nine thousand six hundred and ninety (129,690) pounds. The estimated number of pairs of soles, embracing men's, women's, misses' and children's, is fifteen millions five hundred and thirty-one thousand three hundred and sixty (15,531,360) pairs, being a weekly average of two hundred and ninety-eight thousand six hundred and eighty (298,680) pairs.

The value of this leather before cutting is estimated at about $1,900,000.

These figures were obtained in 1879, and the trade has largely increased since.

The amount of business now done (1880) is estimated at about $3,000,000.

As already hinted in a preceding chapter, the outcome of all this is a more perfect product. The work done in Lynn, in every branch of the shoe business, was never so good as at present. The law of adaptation is recognized, and guides every process. There is little waste, and that little is becoming less. Everything is utilized. In short, scientific exactness takes the place of guess-work, and systematic economy the place of wasteful methods.

THE FIRST SCHOOLS OF LYNN.

The first act relating to public instruction, according to Lewis' History of Lynn, was an act passed by the Court, October, 1647, as follows:

"That every town containing fifty families should have a school for reading and writing; and that all towns containing one hundred families should maintain a grammar school."

The first mention made in the town records of any matter pertaining to schools in Lynn was in January of the year 1695 — the present records going back only to 1690. The earlier records were lost or destroyed. The following extracts from these records are believed to contain every significant vote passed by the town upon the subject of public instruction, from the first settlement of the place — so far as known — down to near a period when published reports make known the condition of our schools in all their details:

January, 1696.—"The Selectmen agreed with Mr. Normenton to be the schoolmaster for the town for said

year ensuing, and the Town is to give him five pounds for his labors, and the Town is to pay twenty-five shillings towards the hire of Nathan Newhall's house for a year to keep school in, and that said Mr. Normenton hire said house."

November 5, 1701:—Voted, "To have a grammar schoolmaster to keep school;" and, at the same meeting, it was voted, "That thirty pounds money for the maintenance of a grammar schoolmaster for one year, beginning when such schoolmaster shall be settled in the town, to teach such as shall be sent to him, Latin, or to write, cipher and read;" and it was also voted, "That Theophilus Burrill shall take care to procure a schoolmaster forthwith, or as soon as may be."

At a December meeting of the same year it was voted, "That the school for the year ensuing shall be a free school for the town, and so be kept by the schoolmaster, as other free schools are." It was also voted, "That the rate granted to maintain the school shall be paid at or before the first day of June next ensuing.

March 1, 1702:—Voted, "That all such that shall be sent to the schoolmaster for the present year to learn to read shall pay him three-pence a week, and all such as shall be sent to him to learn to write and cipher shall pay four-pence a week."

December 14, 1702:—The vote passed, "That ten pounds of money for part of the maintenance of a grammar schoolmaster, qualified according to law, for the year beginning when such schoolmaster shall be settled in the school to teach such as shall be sent to him to read, write and cipher, and to learn Latin; and such master to have over and above the said ten pounds, two-pence

per week for such as are sent to read, three-pence per week for them that are sent to write and cipher, and six-pence per week for them that are sent to learn Latin; to be paid by the parents and masters that send their children or servants to learn as aforesaid.

January, 1703:—Voted, "That ten pounds money in addition to the ten pounds granted in December 14, 1702, for part of the maintenance of a grammar schoolmaster, as expressed in said vote; and declared the Selectmen should obtain a schoolmaster for this present year as cheap as they can."

April 19, 1703:—Voted, "That the Selectmen shall take care to build a convenient house for the town to keep school in, and to get it done as cheap as they can, and the town to pay for the same; and to stand in some convenient place betwixt the meeting house and the burying place as shall be set out by Sergeant John Dinon, Henry Collins and John Breed — or any two of them agreeing thereto." This house was not built this year.

February 13, 1704:—Voted, "That Mr. Jerry Cormin should keep a grammar school in the town and teach such as are sent to him to read, write and cipher, and Latin for two months next after his year is up; and the Selectmen to agree with him for the same."

November 15, 1706:—Voted, "To hire a grammar schoolmaster to keep school in the town for three months, viz: January, February, March next following." At the same meeting it was voted, "Thirty pounds money to pay the schoolmaster, and other town debts."

March 5, 1710:—Voted, "To have a grammar schoolmaster to keep school in said town for the year ensuing,

and to be paid by the town, the Selectmen to obtain and settle said school in such state and places in the town as they shall judge best to promote learning."

March 3, 1711:—Voted, "That Capt. Johnson, Capt. Bancroft, Henry Collins, Jr., and William Merriam be chosen to obtain a schoolmaster, and agree with him, and to settle the schools as shall be judged best."

March 17, 1712:—Voted, "That twenty pounds be assessed on the town to pay for the schoolmaster, and to defray the necessary charges arising in the town, and to be paid in bills of credit."

Bills of credit to the amount of fifty thousand pounds were issued by the General Court, to be distributed to the towns, in proportion to the taxes, to be repaid at a specified time.

The following description of one of these bills is given in Drake's History of Boston:

"No. (916.) 20s. This indented Bill of Twenty shillings, due from the Massachusetts Colony to the possessor, shall be in value equal to money, and shall be accordingly accepted by the Treasurer and receiver subordinate to him, in all Public payments, and for any Stock at any time in the Treasury. Boston, New England, February the third, 1690.

By order of the General Court:— Elisha Hutchinson, John Walley, Tim. Thornton, Comitee."

March 7, 1714:—Voted, "That the Selectmen obtain a schoolmaster, and agree with him, and settle said schools as shall be judged best by them."

March 5. 1715:—Voted, "That ninety pounds be paid to the town, and no more, for the providing a schoolmaster, according to law, and the remainder to be made [up] by said schollars, as the committee shall order; and Left. John Hawkes and John Ivory were chosen by the town to provide a schoolmaster in manner as above described for the year ensuing." "That the committee that was chosen at our last annual March meeting should provide a schoolmaster for the town for the provision that the town had made last March meeting as long as they can."

October 17, 1715:—Voted, "That ninety pounds be raised to pay the schoolmaster; and the necessary charges arising in the town are to be assessed as the law directs."

October 5, 1716, Voted, "At the request of the present schoolmaster, Mr. Bishop, that he be dismissed when the quarter is up; also, that Lieutenant Breed, Ensign Mansfield and Mr. John Hawkes be a committee to obtain a schoolmaster, qualified according to law, to keep school till next March meeting."

March 3, 1717:—Voted, "That Daniel Hitchings, Ebenezer Burrill, Lieutenant James Pearson, Lieutenant Potter and William Ballard be a committee to obtain a schoolmaster, agree with him, and settle the school as shall be judged best by them, and in their agreeing with him to have relation to some help for Mr. Shepard in preaching."

March 2, 1718:—Voted, "That the Selectmen obtain a schoolmaster, and agree with him, the school to be kept in four parts of the town, viz: The body of the town; over the bridge; the Woodend, and the new portion, as near as may be in proportion to each part's big-

ness, as shall be ordered by the Selectmen; having regard for some help for the Rev. Mr. Shepard in preaching."

October 10, 1720:—Voted, "To raise seventy pounds to pay for the school, and all proper town debts, and to be assessed by the Selectmen." At the same meeting, "That the Selectmen have charge of the schools."

May 16, 1722:— The following petition was offered: "In that Ebenezer Barker [or Baker] was to be schoolmaster, provided he answer the law in that case — we, the subscribers, desire that our dissent may be enforced against the vote that is past for Mr. Ebenezer Barker for schoolmaster, for we think he is not qualified according to law. Signed, Capt. John Breed, Capt. Benjamin Potter, Daniel Mansfield, Jun., and eighteen others." At the same meeting it was voted, "That John Hawkes, Thomas Cheever, Left. Farrington, Left. James Pearson, Samuel Collins, William Curtis and Thomas Norwood should be a committee to order the school in the several parts of the town, as they shall see best."

It seems that this petition did n't amount to much, as we find the following vote, passed March 1, 1723, "That Ebenezer Barker shall have forty pounds for his keeping school this year, which will be up the fourteenth of May next ensuing."

In May of the same year it was voted, "That Ebenezer Barker be schoolmaster for the year ensuing, provided the committee could agree with him upon reasonable terms, and that the same committee regulate the school this year that was last year."

May 15, 1724:—The record says: "There was granted forty shillings to William Ballard, according to his re-

quest, for keeping school fifteen days;" and at the same meeting it was voted, "That Left. James Pearson, Mr. Ebenezer Burrill, Ensign Richard Mower, Daniel Mansfield, Jun., Mr. William Curtis be a committee to obtain a schoolmaster for the year ensuing."

In May, 1726, it was voted, "That Ebenezer Baker be chosen schoolmaster for the year ensuing, and to have forty-four pounds for his service for the year; the school to be kept in the several parts of the town as the last year, and the same committee that ordered it the last year; and the same committee to order the school into what part, first, second, third and fourth, as they may deem most convenient."

May 15, 1727:—Voted, "That Mr. Ebenezer Baker be chosen a schoolmaster for the year ensuing, and to have forty pounds for his service for keeping the school the year, and Mr. Ebenezer Burrill, Capt. Potter, Daniel Mansfield, Mr. Ebenezer Merriam and George Messard be chosen a committee to order the school, and proportion it in several parts of the town, as in times past has been."

March 28, 1728:—Voted, "That the Selectmen shall take care to procure a grammar schoolmaster, and consider what allowance may be made to the North precinct for their part of the school." Voted, "That the school shall not be moved this year, and the Selectmen to look [up] a convenient place for to set up a school house on."

This part of Reading was formerly a part of Lynn. In the History of Reading it is stated that—

"In 1713 it was enacted that so much of the territory of the town as lies north of Ipswich river, together with

Saddler's Neck — so called — be set off as a distinct Parish, by the name of the North Precinct."

May 15, 1727:—Voted, "That a committee to consider what may be proper to be done about building a school house or houses, and to make report to the Selectmen what they think convenient to be done about it, so that Selectmen may call a town meeting, if they think it proper." "Said committee was chosen, who are as follows, to wit: Lieut. Ebenezer Burrill, Capt. Benjamin Potter, Ebenezer Merriam, William Collins, Robert Edmonds, John Burrige and Richard Johnson."

October 21, 1728:—Voted, "That the North precinct shall not be rated to building a school house or houses in the town." At the same meeting it was voted, "That there shall be two school houses builded in the town: the one betwixt Richard Johnson's house and Godfree Tarbox's house, the other on the westerly side of Mower's Hill — so called — near [where] the house stood [where] Samuel Mower formerly lived." At the same meeting it was voted, "That the town will sell that piece of land upon the eastward of the County Road above William Proctor's house, near Henry Collins' house; and the same committee that was appointed to consider about building the school houses shall view said land, and any other piece or corner of land that may be sold, and consider the value of the same, and who will purchase the same; and consider what bigness the said school house should be, and make their report to the Selectmen, that they may call a meeting that so the said committee may make their report to the town."

November 8, 1728:—Voted, "That the several pieces

or strips of land that the committee have viewed and made report upon shall be disposed of by the committee according to the prices the said committee hath agreed upon." Voted, "That the same committee that was appointed to make the sale of the land for building the school house shall take care and order the building of the school houses."

March 3, 1729:—Voted, "That the committee appointed to sell land to build the school houses hath full power to sell any other piece or pieces of land as they shall think convenient to finish said houses."

According to the record, these were the first school houses built in the town. Mr. Lewis, in his History, makes mention of but one — that which was located in "Laighton's lane," now Franklin street. The other — as is shown by the record — was built "westerly of Mower's hill."

October 16, 1729:—Voted, "That the North precinct shall have seven pounds paid to them to fence in their burying place; and that said precinct shall have their proportion of money that belongs to them for the school paid to them to pay for the keeping a school or schools amongst them for the year past."

April 5, 1730:—Voted, "That the North precinct shall have their proportion of the schools kept among themselves."

At a meeting of the Selectmen, held May 3, 1831: "It was agreed by all the Selectmen that the North precinct shall have the school kept there three months, beginning the eighth day of this month; and the schools hath been

kept from the eighth day of January last until the eighth day of this May in the west end of the town, and therefore, when the North precinct hath had theirs three months, the school is to be kept in the easterly end of the town four months: and then to be kept in the North precinct until they have their proportion of the school."

June 30, 1731:—Voted, "That one of the school houses shall be removed to "Mill Hill" (Water Hill.) It was also voted, "That the Selectmen shall take care and get the said school house removed and convenient for to keep school in."

May 18, 1732:—Voted, "That the North precinct shall have their part of the schools in schooling for the time past what is due to them, and the Selectmen to proportion and order the same."

September 16, 1734:—Voted, "That Ebenezer Burrill, Esq., and Captain William Collins shall have full power for and in behalf of the town to petition the General Court for a tract of Province land to help support the schools in said town." Also, "That Richard Johnson, for and in behalf of the committee appointed by the town to sell several pieces of common land to build school houses, made an account of the money they received and the cost of the school houses, and that there remained in his hands over and above what they had expended upon said houses one pound one shilling and eleven pence; upon which said Johnson was discharged and ordered to keep such money in his hands until the further order of the town."

September 15, 1735:—"The town ordered Richard Johnson to put the above-mentioned one pound one shil-

ling and eleven pence into the town's money to pay the town's debts, the which the said Johnson hath done."

"Lynn, Sept. 14, 1740.—Whereas the town gave liberty to the Selectmen to sell the town's house that was built for a school house beyond the hill beyond Jacob Newhall's, in observance of that order I have sold the house to Nathaniel Townsend for eighteen pounds, and I have received eighteen pounds Province bills of said Townsend for the use of the town.

RICHARD JOHNSON,
Town Treasurer."

May 4, 1752: — "A meeting was called to see if the town will remove the school house at Mill Hill to the place where it formerly stood, and choose a committee to regulate the school. Likewise, to see if the town will sell or let all their common lands excepting that which lies between the old meeting house and the burying place, and appropriate the proceeds to maintain the school in the town — [or] otherwise, as they shall see cause; and to choose a committee to manage said affairs — further, to see if the town will give unto Jacob Tarbox the school house which he now lives in, or to let [it] stand for the use of the poor."

In 1752 it was voted, "That the Third Parish have their proportionate part of the school kept in said Parish." Voted, "To move the school house to the place where it formerly stood; also, it was put to vote to choose a committee to regulate the school. It was passed in the negative."

November 13, 1752:— A meeting was called, "To see if the town will remove the school house from where it now stands to either of the places mentioned in a re-

quest of thirteen of the inhabitants, or to build a new school house, and grant money to defray the charge that may thereby arise." It was voted, "That the school house be removed from the place where it now stands, that is in Laton's [Laighton's] lane, so called, to a knoll in the middle of the Common, between Pappoon land and Capt. Benjamin Newhall's land, and the charge to be borne out of the town's money granted this year."

March 4, 1754: — "It was put to vote to see if the town would order the grammar school to be kept in the body of the town for the future; and it was passed in the negative."

May 11, 1759: — A meeting was held to consider, among other things, "Whether the town will settle a school in the body of the town to be statedly kept through the year, and allow the North and West Parishes to draw their proportion of money they shall pay towards the support of said schools upon their providing schools among themselves at such seasons of the year as will best suit them, to the amount of said sum. Likewise, to see whether the town will choose a committee to provide a schoolmaster, and visit the schools, in order to see what progress the children and youth have or shall make in their learning from time to time, and in all regards to regulate the school as may best serve the public interest, which we apprehend has been very much neglected in years past, agreeably to a petition preferred to the Selectmen." Signed by sixteen freeholders. On these two propositions the town voted in the negative.

A careful examination of the town records fails to show that the town took any action relating to

schools during the preceding six years. This, probably, was what gave rise to the above petition. The principal legislation seems to have been directed, during these years, to ordering off people who had lately come into town.

March 5, 1764:— A meeting was called, "To see if the town will order the schools to be kept in the First Parish in said town, and pay the Second and Third Parishes proportionable parts of what money said schools shall cost, agreeable to a petition of fifteen of the inhabitants of said town, it was voted the schools shall be statedly kept in the old Parish, and that the other two Parishes should draw their proportionable part of the money the schools shall cost, provided the said two Parishes improve the money they draw for schooling."

In May, 1772, it was voted, "That fifteen pounds be given to the North Parish to enable them to build a school house in said Parish." Also, "Fifteen pounds to said West Parish toward the charge of building a school house in said Parish."

September, 1778:—Voted, "To sell Samuel Collins, and others, of the Quaker Society, a piece of land to set a school house on, they paying four pounds."

March 1, 1784:—Voted, "To choose a committee of three men to settle the clause in the notification respecting the schools." This committee reported on the fifteenth of the same month, as follows:

"We, your committee chosen by the town to regulate the school, and likewise [whether] the Friends draw their proportionable part of the school money, are of the

opinion that it is best for this town to keep two schools, one in the body of the town all the year, and the other in West end of the town and amongst the Friends in proportion as they pay taxes. And we further recommend to the said town to choose a committee or committees to visit them quarterly.

By order of the committee,
SYLVANUS HUSSEY,
Chairman."

On this report it was voted, at an adjourned meeting, March 15, "To choose a committee of nine persons to have the whole care and direction of the schools in said town, viz: Three for each Parish, and three among Friends; for the East Parish, John Flagg, Esq., Col. John Mansfield and Daniel Newhall, Jun.; for the West Parish, Abner Cheever, Thomas Stocker and William Sweetser; for the Friends' Society, Sylvanus Hussey, Samuel Collins and Daniel Newhall; and said committee to visit the schools quarterly."

February 23, 1792: — A meeting was called at which it was voted, "To see if the town will grant to the Methodist Society their proportion of the moneys that the town may grant for the support of schools, to be made use of as the Society may think proper." It was voted, "That the Methodists do not draw their part of the school money back."

The absence of all legislation pertaining to schools between 1784 and 1792 is probably to be accounted for, in part, by the impoverished condition of the town, in common with all sections of the country, in the years immediately following the revolution-

ary war. Schools were probably kept during this interval — as well as at other times when no hint of the fact is given in the record — but, evidently, little was done to meet the wants of an increasing population.

At a March meeting held in 1794 it was voted, "To choose a committee of two from each of the four Wards to take into consideration the matter of making some new regulations for the schools; and Benjamin Johnson, Micajah Newhall, Col. Frederic Breed, James Robertson, Samuel Collins, Henry Oliver, Col. Ebenezer Stocker and Col. Abner Cheever were chosen that committee. They reported at an adjourned meeting in April as follows:

"That there be four school Wards in the town, divided and determined as follows: First Ward — The First Ward shall begin at the west corner of the Methodist meeting house, and run to the entrance of Trevet's lane, (now Laighton street, then extending through Maple street, to Chestnut street, whose west end was then called Mansfield's lane,) including the west side of the road, thence shall include Mansfield's lane, thence including the Great Road, (Boston street, which then run round what is now called North Bend,) to the brook, between John Willis' and Robert Mansfield's, and shall include all the inhabitants to the south and westward of said line to the line that divides the west Parish from old Parish; that the said west Parish (now Saugus) shall be the Second Ward.

Third Ward — The Society of the Friends in the several parts of the town shall be the Third Ward; agreeably to a resolution of the town; any thing herein contained including [said] inhabitants notwithstanding.

Fourth Ward — That the Fourth Ward shall include all the inhabitants on the road from the Black Marsh to the Methodist meeting house, thence to the east side of road to the entrance of Trevet's lane, also beginning at the lane between Willis' and Mansfield's, above-mentioned, and including all the inhabitants in the town that lyeth north and east of said line, to Lynnfield, Danvers and Salem line.

That the old school house be sold to the highest bidder, and the proceeds thereof appropriated to the building a new school house.

That the grammar school be kept in the First Ward, and that the town [build] provide a suitable house for the purpose.

That the town grant forty pounds ($133.33) toward building a school house for the South [Fourth?] Ward, and that the First Ward, and the South Wards, make up the sum that may be wanted to complete the same.

That the town grant the sum of two hundred pounds, annually, ($666.66) for the support of its schools, and that the grammar school draw annually out of the above grant fourteen pounds, (46.66.) and that the remainder of the grant be divided to the four Wards in proportion as they severally pay taxes.

Signed,

SAMUEL COLLINS.

Per order of the town."

At the same meeting it was voted: — "That two hundred pounds be assessed on the inhabitants to support their schools the current year."

Voted: — "To choose a committee to see what the cost of building a new school house, and report in May what they can have it for."

Voted: — "That Col. John Mansfield, William New-

hall, Jr., and Benjamin Alley be a committee for that purpose."

Voted: — "To sell the old school house at this time at vendue."

"Sold the old house for sixteen pounds to Samuel Johnson."

This was the old school house built on Franklin street, 1728, (then called Laighton street,) and afterward moved to the Common, where it stood until the date above given.

This seems to have been the first mention of a division of the town into Wards. Prior to this time the different sections were designated by the term *parish*, *district* or *precinct*. The language of the record, showing that "a committee of two from each of the four Wards" be chosen, would seem to imply that these Ward boundaries were already in existence; but there is nothing in the records to sustain this view. The use of the words "four Wards" instead of sections — or an equivalent word — seems to have been an inadvertence, and simply foreshadowed what was to be.

By this new arrangement of Ward boundaries the entire eastern and north-eastern section of the town, from Market street — and including that street — thence following the shore — and including Nahant — to the Salem line; thence following the line dividing Salem and Danvers (now Peabody) from Lynn, back to the old Boston road — and in-

cluding all the inhabitants on the east side of said road — through Maple and Franklin streets to the old Methodist meeting house, constituted Ward Four. The Friends, wherever located, made up Ward Three. The inhabitants of Saugus and Lynnfield constituted Ward Two; and all others located between these boundaries, (Friends excepted,) beginning with Market street on the east, and including a large part of what is now Ward Five, all of Wards Six and Seven, and a part of Ward Two, constituted Ward One. It was in this Ward that the principal, or grammar, school — as it was called by way of distinction — was located, and which received the largest appropriation made for the support of schools; and it was here where the first two school houses were built.

At the next meeting the committee reported as follows:

"That they have consulted several carpenters who estimate the cost from four hundred to four hundred and fifty dollars in cash: but did not care to undertake themselves to do the job. Your committee have examined the cost of the Proprietors' school house, which was one hundred and eighty pounds, ($600,) exclusive of shovel, tongs, desk, chair, ink-stand and little house. They have also met the proprietors of the above school house to know the least they will take for said house, which they find to be four hundred dollars, to be paid in town orders.

Gentlemen: Your committee, considering the abatement of one hundred and fifty dollars, [and] on account of its elegance, the difference of advancing cash and

paying of orders, and being obliged to pay rent for seven or eight months, till a new one can be built, are unanimously of opinion that it is better to purchase than to build; which we hereby submit to the wisdom of the town.

Signed,
JOHN MANSFIELD,
WILLIAM NEWHALL, JR.,
BENJAMIN ALLEY."

Voted: — "That the Selectmen be a committee to purchase the above-mentioned school house of the owners, and take a deed of the same, and pay the owners in town orders, agreeable to the committee's report."

It will be seen by the preceding records that the first school established by the order of the town was in January, 1696. Whether there was any school kept prior to this time, and subsequent to the order of the Court — October, 1647 — before quoted, cannot be definitely known, as there are no town records covering this period.

As this act of the Court did not make the establishment of a school compulsory upon any town until the population should reach "one hundred families," it is probable that no public school was kept until the time mentioned in the record — 1696. During the nearly seventy years between the settlement of the town in 1629, and this date, private instruction was, doubtless, provided for those children whose parents could afford it; but it is not likely that the proportion of such was large in the section

comprised within the limits of Lynn. It has been remarked that the immediate descendants of the Pilgrims — most of whom were persons of education, and possessed wealth — were better instructed than the few succeeding generations.

This is unquestionably true. Other things being equal, the pecuniary resources of a people determine the educational standard that prevails. The early settlers of Lynn did as well as they were able, doubtless, in this respect. The few unfertile acres, half tilled by the unskillful husbandry of those early times, yielded barely the common necessaries of life; and they probably made greater sacrifices to give their children the luxury of the little learning afforded by the common schools, than were made to gain any other end.

As shown by the record, no school house was erected by the town until 1728, when two were built; one in Laighton's lane — now Franklin street — the other on a lot of land some distance west of "Mower's Hill." This was a hill lying between Tower Hill and East Saugus, on the old Boston road. This school house was used but a short time, as the record shows it was sold in 1740 to Nathaniel Townsend for fourteen pounds. From this date the only school house in town for thirty-two years was that built on Laighton's lane. Upon what part of Franklin street this first-named school

house was built the writer has not been able to ascertain.

As seen by the record, the town voted in 1772 to give fifteen pounds to build a school house in the North Parish, (Lynnfield,) and the same sum to the West Parish, (Saugus,) for a like purpose. These were probably the first school houses built in these districts.

In 1777 the Friends considered the question at their "preparative meeting" of setting up a school of their own. After some months' deliberation the plan was settled, and in 1778 the town voted:

"To sell to Samuel Collins, and others of the Quaker Society, a piece of land to set a school house on; they paying four pounds."

According to the "statement" prepared by the late Samuel Boyce, for Parsons Cooke's "Centuries," this school house stood on Broad street, on the Union Store lot. It was afterward removed to the lot now making the southwest corner of Market and Summer streets, near the site of the present post office. This house was sold, and another obtained and placed upon the original lot on Broad street. This building was sold about the year 1810 to Moses A. Tucker, who removed it to a lot on the turnpike in Gravesend — now Glenmere — and changed it into a dwelling house.

This Friends' school, referred to in the record,

though supported in part by the town's money, was a sectarian school, to which none but the children of Friends were admitted, except in few instances, and in those cases by an act of grace.

As "schools" are frequently mentioned in the records of this period, the question has arisen whether there were more schools than one kept at the same time — except in those years above-named — within the limits of the town prior to the year 1794, when the school house was built at the corner of Collins and Fayette streets, and when the school house, which stood at the west end of the Common, was purchased from certain parties by the town.

It seems quite clear, from the language of these records, that, with the exception of the short period of twelve years subsequent to the building of the two school houses erected in 1728, there was but one school kept in the town — not including Saugus and Lynnfield within the territory — until 1778, when the Friends built their school house, as above stated. The "school" of these days, it seems, was a movable institution, kept at different times, in different parts of the town, for the accommodation of the sparsely settled and widely-spread population; and that prior to 1764, when the town voted to exempt the Second and Third Parishes, (Saugus and Lynnfield,) from the payment of their part of the school tax — "provided the said two parishes im-

prove the money they draw for schooling" — the children from these districts came down to the old school house built in 1728, located, first on Franklin street, then on Water Hill, (1731,) then again on Franklin street, (1752,) then — in the same year — moved to the Common, where it stood until 1794, when it was sold at auction to Samuel Johnson for sixteen pounds.

Stephen N. Breed informed the writer that when his father went to the school on the Common — between 1775 and 1780 — the scholars came from both sections, east and west. The boys from the easterly section were called "gulls," and those from the westerly section "alewives."

Persons now living remember to have heard old people relate, as among their boy experiences, the story of coming all the way from Woodend with a stout stick of wood on their shoulder as their contribution to the winter's fire, built in the capacious fire-place, long before stoves were thought of in this section.

The building designated as the "Proprietors'" school house, stood till 1826, at the west end of the Common, just outside of the enclosure, as now bounded, and as shown by the records, was bought by the town in 1794. It was then, probably, nearly new, as its "elegance" was mentioned by the committee who bought it.

From the best information obtainable it was built

by the following individuals — and perhaps others — and used for a short time as a private school: Frederic Breed, Col. James Robinson, John Carver, Amos Rhodes, Aaron Breed, Joel Newhall, Daniel A. B. Newhall, Col. John Mansfield and William Farrington. There seems to be a strange lack of explicitness and discrimination in the record respecting the school house built at the same time on Chestnut street, near where — afterward — Collins street entered it.

The report of the school committee for the year 1800 — quoted hereafter — seems to clear up the obscurity. This report alludes to this school house as having been built by an appropriation from the town, and by money contributed by the First and *Fourth* Wards. As the sums mentioned correspond to those voted by the town, as shown by the record, for the year 1794, there is hardly a doubt that this school house was built in Ward Three at that time; but the singular fact about it is, that no notice is taken of the building of this school house, and no allusion to it whatever appears in the records, while details of the purchase of the other are given, down to a specification of shovel, tongs, inkstand, etc.

May 6, 1795: —Voted, "That three hundred pounds be appropriated to the support of schools."

May 10, 1796: —Voted, "Three hundred pounds for

the support of schools the ensuing year. At the same meeting it was voted, "That thirty pounds more be granted for the support of schools." Also, "To choose a committee to join with the Selectmen to view the West End school house, and report to the town their opinion."

May 29, 1796: — "That the vote that thirty pounds more be added to the support of schools be reconsidered." Voted, "To recommit the West End school house petition, with the addition of one man."

In March, 1797, the committee on the West End school house report, "That they have attended to the business assigned them, and find the said house in its present situation will not accommodate the youth — the committee, willing to place the inhabitants of said Ward upon a footing of equality with the rest of the town respecting the education of the youth, present the following report to the town for their acceptance — that the town direct the agents of said Ward to draw from the Treasurer the sum of one hundred dollars to be appropriated to the purpose of enlarging, repairing or erecting a school house for the accommodation of said Ward;" when this report was accepted it was with this addition, that the money should be drawn out of the tax for 1797.

This was probably the school house built for the West Parish, in 1764.

April 3, 1797: —Voted, "That $1,000 be assessed for the support of schools."

In March, 1799, it was voted, "To choose a school committee of one from each school Ward. Voted,

"That Jacob Ingalls, Henry Oliver, Aaron Breed and Thomas Mansfield, Jun., be the school committee.

The committee chosen at this meeting reported as follows:

"The committee, to whom was referred the article in the Notification for town meeting respecting schools, having considered the subject, and offer the following report for the town's acceptance: That it will be expedient for the town to choose a superintending committee, to consist of one member at large from each school Ward; the duty of this committee to institute general regulation for all the schools in town; to view, with the district committee and others, each school every quarter of a year, and to make such, and any, observation and inquiries of the instructor and pupils as they shall think best. They shall report to the town at an annual meeting the amount of money expended in each school, for each year. They shall have authority to remove from office any instructor who shall want the necessary qualification.

That there be chosen annually by the town, district school committees consisting of three members in each district, to present a list of nomination for said committee. It shall be the duty of each of these committees to select and contract with a suitable instructor for their several districts. They shall, with the voice of the superintending members of their districts, allot a suitable part of the instructor's time for the education of females in their several districts.

They shall furnish their instructors with such particular regulation for their school as shall be deemed necessary for the good government of the same, and direct the instructor to comply on their part, and enforce a compliance on the part of each pupil, and in case of aggrievance in either part it shall be decided by the superintending committee. They shall visit their respective schools once every month in the year. They shall fur-

nish wood for, and make all necessary repairs in their respective school houses, and present their account annually for the Selectmen for allowance.

With respect to the petition of Timothy Johnson, and others, it is the opinion of the committee that at present it would be very inconvenient to make any alterations in the districts of schools.

Signed,

JOHN L. JOHNSON,
SAMUEL COLLINS, JUN.,
JAMES GARDNER,
JAMES ROBERTSON,
JACOB INGALLS,
HENRY OLIVER,
AARON BREED,
THOMAS MANSFIELD, JUN."

In April, of the same year, a meeting was called, "To act on the petition of twenty-one of the inhabitants of the town requesting the town to adopt any method for the better accommodation of the petitioners in regard to schools now in the town, they being sensible of many inconveniences, wish that they might share a part with the rest of their neighbors in the privilege of the schools now kept in the town."

In May, 1800, a committee appointed to take into consideration the condition of the schools, reported as follows:

"Ward One.—Though they have a comfortable school house, yet the accommodations are not more than sufficient for the male children that usually attend. Males and females are admitted at certain times.

Ward Two.—Have a small school house, built partly at the expense of the town, and partly at their own expense. They have also had a grant of the town of $100,

which now lies unappropriated. Male and female youth are indiscriminately admitted into said house.

Ward Three.—Are comfortably accommodated at their own expense. Is open for both sexes.

Ward Four.—Their school is open for children of both sexes at different stated periods. The house comfortable, and sufficiently commodious. The expenses of said house was $333.33, of which the town paid $133.33, and the remainder was made up by the Wards Number One and Number Four.

Respecting the petition from the inhabitants of the Second Ward, for a further grant of money to enable them to build a new school house, after duly considering the foregoing statement, we beg leave to offer, as our opinion, that it cannot be reasonably expected that the town, under all circumstances, should make any further grant to them at present for this purpose: yet, if they, after using the money in their own power, should find themselves unable to accommodate themselves with a comfortable school house without being too great a burden, on due representation thereof it will be the duty of the town to relieve them — all of which we submit to the town.

Signed.

FRED'K BREED,
HENRY OLIVER,
JACOB INGALLS.

Lynn, May 18, 1800.

At a meeting held in March, 1802, it was voted, "That the petition for more money to be granted to the Second and Fourth Wards, and also the petition for another school in the north part of the old Parish, be referred to the same committee to report at the April meeting.

This committee reported as follows:

"It is the opinion of the committee that at the present it is not expedient for the town to establish any other

Ward of schools, but they beg leave to suggest the propriety of increasing the school grant from one thousand to thirteen hundred, to be distributed in the same proportion as heretofore divided among the several Wards.

TIMOTHY MUNROE,
Committee.

This report was accepted, and thirteen hundred dollars were appropriated for schools for 1803. For the next six years there seems to have been a dearth of school legislation.

In May, 1804, it was voted, "Not to make a new school Ward, nor purchase a new school house."

In March, 1805, the report of the committee was accepted to recommend the town to establish a new school Ward out of the First, Second and Third Wards already established, including all the inhabitants between the farm of John Batts and the Chelsea line.

In August, 1809, the town voted, "To choose a committee for a new arrangement of schools." This committee reported in March, 1810, as follows:

"Firstly.— They have taken the whole number of families in town, which they think is accurate, and find them to amount to about seven hundred families: of which there are in the west Parish, (Saugus,) including a few families eastward of the great bridge, (at Saugus river,) one hundred and twenty-five; families belonging to the Friends' school, one hundred and twenty-five; and the remaining four hundred and fifty are very nearly divided by this arrangement between the First and Fourth Wards. Therefore, in the opinion of your committee, there is an obvious necessity of establishing a new Ward, to be taken off the First and Fourth Wards.

They therefore recommend to the town to establish a Sixth Ward, as follows: Beginning at the cross road between Abner Alley's and James Breed's, and running northward to include Nathaniel Alley's house, (this house was on a hill — since leveled — between the Eastern railroad bed and Union street, about half way between Exchange and Silsbee streets,) thence to run on a line to the brook between John Willis' and Robert Mansfield's, thence on the Boston road to include the Jeremiah Bulfinch estate, (this northwestern boundary was a little north of the entrance to the cemetery,) thence running a direct line to the north corner of Micajah Newhall's land at the entrance of Witt's lane, (Shepard street.) Also, to include said Witt's lane, and the families, excepting Friends on Nahant. They do also recommend to annex the families from the top of the hill by John Hawkes' to said great bridge to the South Ward in the West Parish, denominated the Fifth Ward. The First Ward to extend westward to said line on Hawkes' Hill, and eastward to the line designated for the western [limit] of said Sixth Ward; and their report was accepted."

From the boundaries described in this report the new Sixth Ward embraced the western part of what is now Ward Four, nearly all of Ward Five, and a part of Ward Two. It was doubtless owing to the necessities which called for this new arrangement that also made it necessary to build the school house — already mentioned — which stood at the east end of the Common, near the junction of Franklin and North Common streets. This was

for the school afterward kept by Master Oliver, as mentioned in the report for 1812.

The writer was not able to find any order in the town records authorizing the building of this school house; but the committee appointed to examine the accounts of the town officers for that year include the expense of this building among the items given.

The following seems to be the first school report made to the town:

April 14, 1812:—"Your school committee, who were chosen to superintend the several schools in the town of Lynn, beg leave to report that they have visited all the schools in said town, except Ward Number Two, which was omitted on account of Master Swain's indisposition at the time of visiting it.

Your committee found in Ward One sixty-eight present; whole number said to be one hundred and three.

Ward Two not visited, for reasons before offered.

Ward Three, Friends' school, number present were sixty-five; whole number ninety living in the above Ward. There is a division of males and females, and two schools kept.

Ward Four, Woodend, scholars present, seventy-one; whole number of subjects one hundred; besides an extra school for misses.

Ward Five — Mrs. Derby's school — found sixty scholars present; whole number, seventy.

Ward Six — Master Oliver — scholars present, eighty-seven; whole number, one hundred and sixty.

Your committee also visited Nahant; found nine present. Also the school at Nathan Hawkes'; present twelve.

Also, John Phillips; number fifteen subjects. All the schools visited were in good order.

Your committee beg leave to report that Ward One draws from the town $390 and $50 for the grammar,

total $440, which is $50 dollars more than any other school in town; and as we find said school to be smaller than some others in town, we recommend that the above allowance for Ward One be the same as that for Wards Three, Four and Six, which is $340. We further recommend that Nathan Hawkes, and others, draw $10, and the citizens of Nahant $10, in addition to their present allowance. All which is respectfully submitted.

JOSEPH JOHNSON,
OLIVER FULLER,
EZRA MUDGE,
JOHN MUDGE, JR."

April 9, 1813: — "Your committee, appointed to examine into the state of all the schools in town, in order to ascertain the number of subjects of male and female from the age of four years to fourteen years, have attended [to] that service, and ask leave to make the following report:

WARDS.	Males.	Females.	Total.
In Ward 1	154	136	290
In Ward 2	42	41	83
In Ward 3	85	81	166
In Ward 4	148	146	294
In Ward 5	50	53	103
In Ward 6	110	72	182
Totals	589	529	1,118

May 6, 1815: —Voted, "To see if the town will establish another school Ward, agreeable to a petition of Robert Mansfield, and others.

May 15, 1815: —Voted, "That the petition of Robert Mansfield, and others, be accepted, and that John Pratt, James Gardner and Aaron Breed be a committee to act on the business to set off said Ward, and report at next meeting."

This committee reported in July as follows, and their report was accepted:

"The committee appointed by the town to set off a school Ward at Gravesend, and agreeable to a petition of Robert Mansfield, and others, report they have set off the same, viz: Beginning at the mile stone near William Whitney's old house, formerly John Collins', continuing on both sides of the way, or road, to what is called the Point of Rocks, near, and north, of John Batts' house, thence northeasterly till it comes to Danvers line, thence on said line to Salem old road, thence by Salem old road to Bolt-hill pasture, thence westerly, so as to include the house of Jabez Wait, and the house of William Clarriage, to the mile stone aforesaid. Your committee further recommend that the town grant said Ward $133.33 to assist said Ward in erecting a suitable house for their accommodation, and when they shall have provided themselves with said house they shall be entitled to the above sum and their proportion of the annual grant of the town for the support of schools. All of which we submit.

JOHN PRATT,
JAMES GARDNER.
AARON BREED,
Committee.

Lynn, July 25, 1815.

At the same meeting it was voted, "To choose a committee of seven persons to make a new arrangement of

schools, and report at the next March meeting. The following were the committee: James Gardner, Aaron Breed, John Pratt, Nathan Mudge, Jr., Thompson Burrill, Eleazer C. Richardson and Joseph Fuller." They reported as follows:

"The committee find, by a careful and accurate enumeration of all subjects of schools in the town, that there are between the ages of five and fourteen years a total of eight hundred and seventy-two children, exclusive of the children on Nahant, and at John Lindsay's. That of this number the —

First Ward contains	215
Second Ward contains	133
Third Ward contains	200
Fourth Ward contains	167
Fifth Ward contains	76
Sixth Ward contains	40
Families on, and west, of General's (Tower) Hill	41
Making a total to be provided for in schools of .	872

The committee, as their report of their deliberations, are fully of the opinion that some alteration on a large scale might be made for the convenience and benefit of the rising generation; but when they consider the pressure of the times, and the embarrassed situation of the town in its pecuniary concerns, they do not think it expedient for the town at present to create any new school Wards; nor make any alteration in the old ones, excepting in the First Ward, which embraces part of the former Fifth Ward. Owing to the separation of the town of

Saugus, the committee recommend that the families, including Ezekiel J. Rand, Caleb Lewis, and all the families to the westward of them, be for the present considered a separate District.

The committee further recommend to the town to grant the sum of $1,900 for the support of schools, and six per cent. on the same for wood, and that the same be apportioned among the Wards and Districts in the following proportions, and expended for the object of the grant, to wit:

To the First Ward the sum of	$418
To the Second Ward, Friends'	317
To the Third Ward, Woodend	380
To the Fourth Ward, east end of the Common	360
To the Fifth Ward, Gravesend	170
To the Sixth Ward, Swampscott	125
To the West District	85
To Nahant	40
To John Lindsay's	5
Making the total	$1,900

School committee report for 1816:—

"The superintending committee of schools of the town of Lynn, for 1816, having attended to the duty assigned them through the year for which they were chosen, ask leave to report that in visiting the several schools the committee are happy to say that the money so liberally granted by the town for schools has been faithfully applied to the instruction of the rising generation; that the schools generally appear in a state of progressive improvement. Your committee recommend to the town to be very liberal in their next school grant, especially as

knowledge is the mainspring of all republican government, and ignorance the greatest in despotic states.

Per order of
J. GARDNER.

In November, 1818, it was voted, "To accept the report of the committee recommending the appropriation of $60 for a school house on Nahant."

In the same year it was voted, "To have seven members to serve on the committee at large, besides one from each Ward and District — fifteen in all."

In May, 1820, it was voted, "To choose a committee to take an account of the number of subjects in each school Ward, from five to fourteen years of age, and return the same to the Selectmen within sixty days, and they to make such a distribution of the money granted for schools as they may judge most equitable and proper. James Gardner, for Ward 1; Stephen Smith, Jr., for Ward 2; John Ireson, for Ward 3; Josiah Newhall, for Ward 4; Eleazer C. Richardson, for Ward 5; William Mansfield, for Ward 6; Thompson Burrill, for Ward 7; Jesse Rice, for Ward 8.

April, 1820:—Voted, "To accept the following report, excepting that part relating to the grammar school:"

"The committee have repeatedly visited and examined the several schools supported by the town; they can remark, generally, that the money so liberally granted by the town for this object has been faithfully applied in the several Wards; but the committee, though with regret, must observe that there appears more or less defect in almost every school in town. In some, a want of energy in the teacher seems to retard the progress of improvement. In some, certain contingencies not within the

control of the instructors, have operated to the prejudice of the school. In others, a great deficiency in books, ink, quills and paper is apparent, and very detrimental to the general progress of the scholars; a great proportion of the children in some of the schools are wholly destitute of books, and those which they have are so various and different the instructors are unable to form them into proper classes. These evils the committee attribute to indifference in the parents, want of attention in the immediate committees, and want of energy in the teachers. In several of the schools the number of children is so great that the instructors have only one minute and a fraction of a minute to devote to each scholar in half a day. To obviate this great hindrance to improvement the committee are decidedly of the opinion that a perpetual grammar school in town is necessary. This, under proper instruction and good regulations, would draw off a number of subjects from each Ward, and relieve them from the great burden. In this school lads and young men might acquire knowledge competent to fit them for business without the expense of sending them abroad to academies. Such an establishment is dictated by motives of interest, convenience and sound policy. The committee recommend to their successors in office to call a meeting of the several Ward committees, and agree on a uniform system of education, and a new selection of books; and if need be, alter the territorial limits of some of the Wards, so as to equalize the numbers.

JAMES GARDNER,
Per order."

January, 1821:—Voted, "That the town be districted anew, as it respects the several schools, without any regard to any particular religious society."

Since 1794, as has been seen, the Friends, where-

ever located, constituted one Ward. This arrangement ended from this date.

It was voted, "That a committee be appointed, of one person to each Ward, in addition to the Selectmen, to district the several Wards in town, and report at the next town meeting. For Ward One, John Lummus; Ward Two, Abel Houghton; Ward Three, Nathan Mudge, Jr.; Ward Four, John L. Moulton; Ward Five, James F. Lewis; Ward Six, Ebenezer Weeks; Ward Seven, John Burrill."

March, 1821:—Voted, "To dispense with the superintending school committee."

The committe chosen in January reported as follows:

"That the Wards be numbered in future in the following order: Ward Six to be called Ward One; Ward Three to be called Ward Two; Ward Five to be called Ward Three; Ward Two to be called Ward Four; Ward Four to be called Ward Five; Ward One to be called Ward Six; Ward Seven to be called Ward Seven; Nahant to be called Ward Eight. They have determined the boundaries of the Wards in the following manner, each Ward to comprise all the inhabitants living within the described limits, and beginning at the easterly part of the town and proceeding westerly in numerical order, viz:

Ward One to begin at King's brook, near the beach, and running westerly as far as the southern corner of Ebenezer Burrill's field, thence northeasterly to the Salem line, thence following this line to the sea.

Ward Two to begin at King's beach, as aforesaid, and running westerly to the town pump, near Charles Chase's, thence northwesterly to the gate of Friend's pasture, in

Estes' lane, thence northerly to a bridge in Fresh Marsh lane, near William Canages's [Clarriage] house, thence northeasterly to the Salem line, and following this line till it meets the limits of Ward One.

Ward Three to begin at the aforesaid bridge, near William Canage's house, thence running to Samuel Larrabee's, on the Salem turnpike, thence to the house of Edmond Nourse, (on the Whitmore place,) thence northerly to the Lynnfield line, and to include all the inhabitants north of the limits of Ward Two.

Ward Four to begin at the town pump, near Charles Chase's, and running south as far as the easterly end of Long Beach, thence northwesterly to the bridge near Moulton and Alley's store, (at the southwest end of Broad street, near the site of the brick block facing Market street,) thence northerly to the magazine in the Rocks' pasture, (just in the rear of the present residence of Theodore Attwill, on Essex street,) thence easterly till it meets the boundaries of Ward Two.

Ward Five to begin at the bridge, near Moulton and Alley's store, and including all the houses on the west of the road leading to the old wharf, and from said wharf running westerly to Kimball Ramsdell's house, thence to, and including, the house of Micajah Newhall, thence northerly to the house of Capt. [Christopher] Bubier, thence easterly to the limits of Ward Three, and to comprise all the inhabitants living between the aforesaid described bounds and those of Wards Two, Three and Four

Ward Six to begin at the old meeting house, (on the Common,) and running south to John Mudge's wharf, thence running westerly to Chase's mills, thence following the stream northerly to the bridge at the foot of General's Hill, thence to the Downing road, thence easterly to the limits of Ward Five.

Ward Seven to include all the inhabitants living west of the bridge, at the foot of General's Hill, between the limits of Ward Six and the town of Saugus.

Ward Eight. The inhabitants of Nahant to constitute a Ward to be designated the Eighth Ward.

STEPHEN SMITH,
Chairman of Committee."

These boundaries remained the same until the territory now comprising Ward One was set off from Ward Two, March 19, 1836, making another school District, known as Ward Nine. This arrangement continued until Swampscott was incorporated as a town in 1852, when Ward Nine became Ward One in place of Swampscott. The next year Nahant became a separate town, and Ward Eight was no longer known. At this time Wards Two and Three exchanged numbers, and the circle was complete as it now stands.

The first printed school report published by the town appeared some fifteen years after the latest date here given; and, as appears under another head, was probably written about 1838 by the Rev. Samuel D. Robbins, pastor of the Unitarian church. For several years prior to this time the school report was published in the newspapers of the town. From this time onward these reports make known all the essential facts respecting our schools and school houses.

In copying the above records the writer has not faithfully followed the orthography that confronted him in these time-worn documents. It was too miscellaneous. It was far more unique than

antique, and conformed to no standard known among men. It has been allowed to stand when, by so doing, the sense was made clear; and, though an occasional deviation from grammar has been permitted to go unchallenged, no pains has been taken to copy obvious errors.

SKETCHES OF THE CHURCHES OF LYNN.

The first church in Lynn was organized in 1632. First pastor, Rev. Samuel Whiting; installed November 8, 1636. Died December 11, 1679. Rev. Thomas Cobbet, (colleague,) installed July, 1637; remained till 1656. Rev. Jeremiah Shepard, ordained October 6, 1680. Died June 3, 1720. Rev. Joseph Whiting, (colleague,) ordained October 6, 1680; remained till 1681. Rev. Nathaniel Henchmen, ordained December, 1720. Died December 23, 1761. Rev. John Treadwell, ordained March 2, 1763; remained till 1782. Rev. Obadiah Parsons, installed February 4, 1784; remained till July 16, 1792. Rev. Thomas C. Thacher, ordained August 13, 1794; remained till February 3, 1813. Rev. Isaac Hurd, ordained September 15, 1813; remained till May 22, 1816. Rev. Otis Rockwood, ordained July 1, 1818; remained till May 12, 1832. Rev. David Peabody, ordained November 15, 1832; remained till April 22, 1835. Rev. Parsons Cooke, installed May 4, 1836. Died Feb-

ruary 12, 1864. Rev. James M. Whiton, ordained May 10, 1865; remained till April 3, 1869. Rev. Stephen R. Dennen, installed November 13, 1872; remained till March 29, 1875. Rev. Walter Barton, installed February 24, 1876. Mr. Barton is still the pastor.

CHURCHES.

The first house of worship built in Lynn was in 1632. Mr. Lewis tells us "it was a small plain building, without bell or cupola, and stood on the northeastern corner of Shepard and Summer streets. It was placed in a small hollow, that it might be better sheltered from the winds, and was partly sunk into the earth; being entered by descending several steps." (The porch of this building is still in existence, and makes part of a house now on Harbor street.) This was occupied by the society until 1682, when it was removed to the Common, nearly opposite Whiting street, and rebuilt. Its dimensions, as given by Mr. Lewis, were fifty feet in length, by forty-three feet in width. It had a small bell, which hung in the belfry until 1816, when a new one, cast by Paul Revere, was put up. It was generally known as the "Old Tunnel Meeting House," from the supposed resemblance of its roof to an inverted tunnel. This church was removed from the Common in 1827 to the corner of

Commercial and South Common streets, and to a considerable extent rebuilt. It served the society until 1837, when the new church, built the year before, was dedicated on the first day of February. This stood upon the site of the present church, on the corner of Vine and South Common streets. It was burned on Christmas night, 1870. On the 10th day of the following May the corner stone of their present fine brick structure was laid, and an address delivered by Rev. E. S. Attwood, of Salem. It was dedicated August 29, 1872. The sermon on the occasion was preached by the pastor-elect, Rev. Stephen R. Dennen.

FRIENDS' SOCIETY.

According to the sketch of the history of the Friends in Lynn, prepared by Samuel Boyce for Parsons Cooke's "Centuries," the first meeting of Friends in Lynn was held in a house on the old road to Salem, near the Lynn Mineral Spring Farm. Such, says Mr. Boyce, was the tradition, based upon a statement in "Neal's History," that about this time (1658) as many as twenty were taken at once from a meeting held at the house of Nicholas Phelps, "about five miles from Salem," and that Nicholas Phelps' house was about five miles from Salem.

The charge for which they were "taken" from

this house is not stated. This is a mistake. The Historical Collection of the Essex Institute shows that the estate of Phelps was near the farms of Robert Moulton and Thomas James, in *Salem*, now West Peabody. A notice of a meeting held there June, 1658, is found in "Felt's Annals of Salem."

"At a monthly meeting held in Salem, the 28th of the twelfth month, 1688, it was concluded to have a meeting once a month settled at Lynn, for the ease of those Friends who are inhabitants there."

By the records of these meetings the first monthly meeting held in Lynn met at the house of Samuel Collins, May 18, 1689, when the following-named persons were present: Thomas Made, Daniel Southwick, John Blothen, William Williams, Samuel Gaskin, Jr., Samuel Collins, Thomas Graves, Edward Gaskin and James Goodridge.

Mr. Boyce says: "By referring to the records of the meeting, it appears that Friends in Lynn suffered severely for many years by having their property taken from them by distraint for priests' wages, repairing meeting houses, and for military fines. Much of the property taken for priests' wages was for Jeremiah Shepard."

The numbers of Friends increasing in Lynn, they built (1678) a meeting house on what is now Broad street, on a spot then known as Wolf Hill. This house stood a few rods east of Silsbee street, and

occupied the land — until 1723 — in front of the present Friends' burying ground. The next was built near the front line of that enclosure, the front extending to the present road bed. Its dimensions were, forty feet in length, and thirty in width, besides an extension on the northeast side, used by the women of the society to transact their part of the business of the organization, according to the usages of this body. This house served the purposes of the society for ninety-three years, or until 1816, when, having outgrown its too narrow limits, a new house was built by the society, on the lot used by them as a burying ground, a few rods — in the rear — from the site of the old meeting house. It stood on this spot until 1852, when it was moved a short distance to its present location on Silsbee street.

The old meeting house was bought by Thomas Rich, and moved a few rods to the westward, and used by him several years as a warehouse for the sale of shoe stock. About 1830 it was used by Samuel Boyce as a shoe manufactory; and about five years later it was bought by James Breed, and moved near to his wharf, to be used as a lumber warehouse. It now stands on the same spot, at the corner of Broad and Beach streets, and is owned by Stephen N. Breed, son of James, above-named, who succeeded to his father's business. Though it is now a hundred and fifty-seven years old, its stout

oaken frame has kept its symmetry intact; while occasional repairs, and the art of the painter, have concealed its marks of age.

The "extension" was bought by Nathan Alley, and moved to Exchange street, opposite Exchange Block, and used by him as a dwelling. It now stands on Fayette street, opposite the school house, near Collins street.

In 1835 there were about one hundred families belonging to the society in Lynn; and there was but little change during the next twenty years. At present their numbers are somewhat less.

THE FIRST M. E. CHURCH.

The first Methodist Society in Lynn was formed February 20, 1791, by Rev. Jesse Lee. The first meetings were held in the house of Benjamin Johnson, Sr., near the corner of Essex and Market streets. This place proving too small for the growing numbers the society held its meetings for a few months in Mr. Johnson's barn, situated in the rear of the house. On the 14th of June, 1791, the society began to build the church which stood until 1812 on land directly in front of the old church now standing opposite City Hall. This little church was 34 by 44 feet, and such was the expedition with which it was built, that on the twelfth day from the beginning of the work, it was dedicated.

It was not lathed nor plastered, and the record tells us, "it had no front entrance in order to prevent, as much as possible, the intrusion of the north-east wind" — stoves not being then in use. It had a door on each side toward the east and west, and the rear of the church extended about eight feet beyond the curb stones into what is now the road bed, and its front was within eight feet of the (now) old church when that was built in 1812. The first church stood until the second was finished. It was then removed to West Lynn. The new church had old-fashioned high-backed square pews, and a vestry in the rear of the "singers'" seats. The dedicatory sermon was preached by the Rev. Joshua Soule — afterward Bishop — on the third day of June.

In the year 1824 the steeple was lowered sixteen feet, as the ringing of the bell was thought to endanger the edifice. In 1834 the house was raised three feet, and a vestry finished underneath, the old pews were changed to the modern style, a new pulpit took the place of the old one, and the vestry was converted into an orchestra. In 1853 several other changes were made, the floor of the galleries was altered to give a greater inclination, the steps at the entrance of the church were removed from the outside to the inside, the pews were cushioned, and the floor carpeted. In 1857 the iron fence was built in front of the church by the ladies' sewing circle, at a cost of $800. In 1858 the church was

oaken frame has kept its symmetry intact; while occasional repairs, and the art of the painter, have concealed its marks of age.

The "extension" was bought by Nathan Alley, and moved to Exchange street, opposite Exchange Block, and used by him as a dwelling. It now stands on Fayette street, opposite the school house, near Collins street.

In 1835 there were about one hundred families belonging to the society in Lynn; and there was but little change during the next twenty years. At present their numbers are somewhat less.

THE FIRST M. E. CHURCH.

The first Methodist Society in Lynn was formed February 20, 1791, by Rev. Jesse Lee. The first meetings were held in the house of Benjamin Johnson, Sr., near the corner of Essex and Market streets. This place proving too small for the growing numbers the society held its meetings for a few months in Mr. Johnson's barn, situated in the rear of the house. On the 14th of June, 1791, the society began to build the church which stood until 1812 on land directly in front of the old church now standing opposite City Hall. This little church was 34 by 44 feet, and such was the expedition with which it was built, that on the twelfth day from the beginning of the work, it was dedicated.

The first parsonage was built in 1803, on the corner of Market and South Common streets. It was used as such until 1817, when it was sold to Rev. Enoch Mudge. In 1833 the second parsonage was built on Franklin street, near Hanover. The present parsonage was built in 1858, on Hanover street.

PASTORS.

1791, John Bloodgood, Daniel Smith; 1792, Menzies Raynor; 1793, Jordan Rexford; 1794, Evan Rogers; 1795, George Pickering; 1796, James Covel; 1797, John Broadhead; 1798, Ralph Williston; 1799, Andrew Nichols; 1800, Joshua Wells; 1801, George Pickering, T. F. Sargent; 1802, Thomas Lyell, John Bloodgood; 1803, Peter Jayne; 1805–6, Daniel Webb; 1807, Nehemiah Coye; 1808, Daniel Young; 1809–10, William Stevens; 1811, Asa Kent, Greenlief R. Norris; 1812, Joshua Soule, Daniel Webb; 1813, Daniel Webb, Elijah Hedding; 1814, Elijah Hedding, Leonard Frost; 1815, George Pickering, Solomon Sias; 1816, George Pickering, B. F. Lambord; 1817, W. Marsh, O. Hinds; 1818, Elijah Hedding, James B. Andrews; 1819, Elijah Hedding, Enoch Mudge; 1820, Enoch Mudge; 1821–2, Phineas Peck; 1823–4, Daniel Filmore; 1825, John F. Adams; 1827, Daniel Filmore; 1829, Abraham D. Merrill; 1830, Abraham D. Merrill; 1831, Bartholomew Otheman, Selah

Stocking; 1832, Bartholomew Otheman; 1833, David Kilburn; 1834, Jotham Horton; 1836, Thomas C. Pierce; 1838, Charles P. True; 1840, Charles Adams; 1841, Jefferson Hascall, Lester James; 1842, James Porter; 1844, Loranus Crowell; 1846, John W. Merrill; 1848, Lorenzo R. Thayer; 1850, Augustus Adams; 1852, Henry V. Degen; 1854, William Butler; 1856, Charles N. Smith; 1858, William R. Clark; 1860–61, George M. Steele; 1862–3, W. F. Mallalieu; 1864–5, J. H. Twombly; 1866–8, J. W. F. Barnes; 1869–70, David H. Ela; 1871–2, Fales H. Newhall; 1873–5, Samuel F. Upham; 1876–9, C. D. Hills; 1880, Oliver A. Brown.

ST. PAUL'S M. E. CHURCH.

The Eastern (now St. Paul's) M. E. Church was built in 1811, and dedicated by Elijah R. Sabin November 27th of the same year. It was the first Methodist church in Massachusetts that was built with a steeple; $200 was paid for the lot, (one fourth of an acre,) the meeting house cost about $3000. The audience room was on the first floor, and galleries on three sides. There were sixty-six pews in the auditorium, and twenty in the gallery.

In 1813, on the request of ninety-three petitioners, it was incorporated as a parish. A stove was in-

troduced in 1831 — there having been no fire in the church before this time. A small bell was obtained in 1834; and also a clock made by Willard, of New Bedford. A larger bell was hung the next year. In 1846 a floor was built across the house on a level with the galleries, making an audience room above, and a vestry and parsonage below. In 1849 an organ, worth $500, was purchased by subscription. The present parsonage was built in 1859. The church was destroyed by fire on the night of November 20th, 1859. A new bell was ordered in ten days; within a month a committee on plans and estimates for a new church was appointed, and in forty-five days from the fire the plan of the present house was adopted. The vestry, with a seating capacity for five hundred persons, was ready for occupancy in March, 1861. On the 1st of August (1861) the church itself was completed. The dedication sermon was preached by Rev. L. D. Barrows, D. D. The Female Benevolent Society was formed in 1821, and the Young Ladies' Sewing Circle in October, 1858.

From 1815 till 1827 a school was held on Saturday afternoon, superintended by the pastors, having the characteristics of a modern Sunday school, but did not become a Sunday school until the latter year, (1827) when it was permanently established. Shadrach Ramsdell was the first superintendent. The pulpit was supplied from the dedication until

June, 1812, by Epaphras Kibby, a local preacher. The first stationed preacher from Conference was Daniel Webb, in 1812–13, followed by, 1814, Leonard Frost; 1815–16, Solomon Sias; 1817, Orlando Hines; 1818, James Ambler; 1819, Elijah Hedding; 1820–1, Timothy Merritt; 1822–3, Shipley W. Wilson; 1824, Elijah Spear; 1825–6–7, Epaphras Kibby; 1828–9, Joseph A. Merrill; 1830, Ephraim Wiley; 1831, Shipley W. Wilson; 1832–3, John Lovejoy; 1834–5, Isaac Bonney; 1836, Daniel Filmore; 1837, John Parker; 1838–9, A. D. Sargent; 1840–1, William Smith; 1842–3, Jacob Sanborn; 1844, Samuel A. Cushing; 1845, Phineas Crandall; 1846–7, Joseph Dennison; 1848, A. D. Merrill; 1849–50, Stephen Cushing; 1851–2, Chester Field; 1853, Nelson Stetson; 1854–5, N. D. George; 1856, D. L. Gear; 1857–8, John H. Mansfield; 1859–60, Wm. A. Braman; 1861–2, Henry W. Warren; 1863, William C. High; 1864, A. McKeown; 1865, B. W. Gorham; 1866–7–8, R. W. Allen; 1869–70–1, John C. Smith; 1872–3–4, D. C. Knowles; 1875–6–7, Daniel Steele; 1878–9, David Sherman.

THE FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH.

This church was organized March 17, 1816, with a membership of twenty-five persons, a majority of

whom came by letter from the church in Salem. Not one of this number is now living.

The first house used by this society was the old Methodist church, which stood till 1812 at the east end of the Common, directly in front of the spot upon which the second church was built in the above-named year. It was purchased by Jonathan Bacheller, and moved to a lot situated a few rods east of the residence of Mark Healey. It was occupied by the society till the close of 1832. The second structure was upon the site of the present church. It was dedicated in February, 1833. Its cost was something less than $6,000, and contained four hundred and eighty sittings. It was removed in the summer of 1866. The present edifice was begun in August of the same year, and was dedicated in June, 1867. It cost $30,000, and its seating capacity was about seven hundred. It was enlarged in 1869 at a cost of $6,000. After this enlargement it would accommodate about one thousand persons. A tornado, on the 8th of September of the same year, wrenched off the spire, and otherwise damaged the building to the amount of $7,000; so that the entire cost was estimated at about $50,000.

The church has had eleven pastors: George Phippen, from March, 1816, to August, 1818; Ebenezer Nelson, Jr., from July, 1820, to August, 1827; Daniel Chessman, from January, 1830, to

FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH, LYNN, MASS

May, 1833; Lucius S. Bolles, from November, 1833, to October, 1836; Joel S. Bacon, from October, 1837, to December, 1839; Hiram A. Graves, from February, 1840, to July, 1842; Thomas Driver, from April, 1843, to March, 1847; William C. Richards, from May, 1849, to August, 1864; Thomas E. Vassar, from February, 1865, to November, 1872; John B. Brackett, from April, 1873, to February, 1878; Norman C. Mallory, from December, 1878, and remains the present (1880) pastor.

THE SECOND CONGREGATIONAL (UNITARIAN) CHURCH.

The Second Congregational Society was organized April 5, 1822, by the choice of William Chadwell, Moderator; James Homer, Secretary, and William Chadwell, Samuel Brimblecom and Henry A. Breed, as Standing Committee. An act of incorporation was obtained, and a lot on South Common street — the present site — was soon after secured for a church. The corner stone was laid on the 5th of November. The ceremonies were conducted by Rev. Henry Coleman, and Rev. Joseph Tuckerman delivered the address. On the 30th of April, 1823, the house was dedicated, Rev. Mr. Coleman preaching the sermon. James D.

Green was the first minister. He was ordained November 3, 1824.

A few years after, a Sunday School was established, mainly through the efforts of Dr. Edward Coffin — assisted by two or three young ladies. Amos Rhodes afterward rendered great service in the school as teacher, superintendent and librarian. In 1828 Mr. Green resigned his charge. David H. Barlow was the next pastor. He was ordained December 9, 1829, and remained until February 2, 1833.

In the Fall of the same year Samuel D. Robbins accepted the pastorate, and his ordination took place November 3. Mr. Robbins took great interest in our public schools. In a letter he afterward wrote to friends in Lynn, he says: "I think I wrote the first *printed* report sent from Lynn to the State." Mr. Robbins resigned in 1839, and William Gray Swett was invited to become the pastor of the society. He accepted, and was installed January 1, 1840. Mr. Swett was a great favorite, and the society flourished under his care; but his health failed him, and after a pastorate of three years, he died February 15, 1843. Mr. Swett was the grandson of the well-known William Gray — commonly called Billy Gray — a native of Lynn.

The next pastor was John Pierpont, Jr., who was ordained October 11, 1843. An incident worth

mentioning is recorded of this ordination. The venerable Dr. Pierce, of Brookline, was present, who remarked that "this was the ninety-fourth ordination that he had attended, and it was the first one where intoxicating drinks were not used; and the first ordination dinner at which ladies were present." Mr. Pierpont resigned April 29, 1846, on account of ill health.

Charles C. Shackford was Mr. Pierpont's successor. He was installed December 6, 1846. Mr. Shackford's pastorate extended through nearly eighteen years, and he was so well known, not only to the present generation of his fellow citizens in this city, but elsewhere, that an omission to recognize his talents and services would hardly be justified. He was specially devoted to the interests of our public schools, and was several times Chairman of the Board of School Committee. With a few others, he was largely instrumental in establishing our High School; and in the broader field of public instruction, by lectures, by his labors to establish our Free Public Library, and by his interest in all educational and reform movements, our community has felt the influence of his cultured mind, and his generous, tolerant spirit.

During his pastorate — in the summer of 1852 — the church edifice was enlarged and remodelled. In 1864 — April 25 — Mr. Shackford resigned his

charge to accept the professorship of modern literature in Cornell University.

Rev. Samuel B. Stewart, the present pastor, was installed October 4, 1864, having had, with the exception of his predecessor, the longest pastorate over the church since its organization.

SOUTH STREET M. E. CHURCH.

The South Street Methodist Episcopal Church was organized from the Common Street Church, August 23, 1830, embracing one hundred members — thirty-six males and sixty-four females. It was partly the result of a great religious awakening the year before (1829) under the labors of Rev. Abraham D. Merrill, assisted by Rev. Charles Noble.

The meeting house was erected in 1830. It was originally a plain substantial edifice, without a steeple, with two doors in front, and a vestibule running the whole length of the house. Over this was the singing gallery, and between the entry doors, the pulpit. The house remained in this state until 1851, when a steeple was built, which greatly added to its beauty. Afterward, during the pastorate of Rev. Sanford B. Sweetser, it was again remodeled and frescoed. At present it is one of the neatest church edifices in the city.

The church has had the following pastors: 1830,

Rufus Spaulding; 1831, Selah Stocking; 1832–3, Isaac Bonny; 1834, Sanford Benton; 1835, Amos Binney; 1836–7, Timothy Merritt; 1838, Frederick P. Tracy; 1839–40, Mark Staples; 1841–2, Edmund M. Beebe; 1843–4, John B. Husted; 1845–6, Charles S. Macreading; 1847–8, John Clark; 1849, William Rice; 1850, Simon Putman; 1851–2, George Dunbar; 1853–4, Daniel Steele; 1855–6, Isaac Smith; 1857–8, Fales H. Newhall; 1859–60, Jeremiah L. Hannaford; 1861–2, Daniel Richards; 1863–4, Samuel Kelley; 1865–6, Solomon Chapin; 1867–8–9, Sanford B. Sweetser; 1870–1, Edward A. Manning; 1872–3, William H. Hatch; 1874–5–6, George F. Eaton; 1877–8–9, Varnum A. Cooper; present pastor, Alfred A. Wright.

THE FIRST UNIVERSALIST SOCIETY.

Universalism was first preached in Lynn by the Rev. Edwin Turner, then of Salem, in the year 1811. In 1818 Rev. Joshua Flagg preached in the Lynn Academy, on South Common street, near Vine street. There is no record of any other movement in this direction until 1831, when Rev. Sylvanus Cobb, of Malden, preached a few times, on alternate Sunday evenings, at Swampscott.

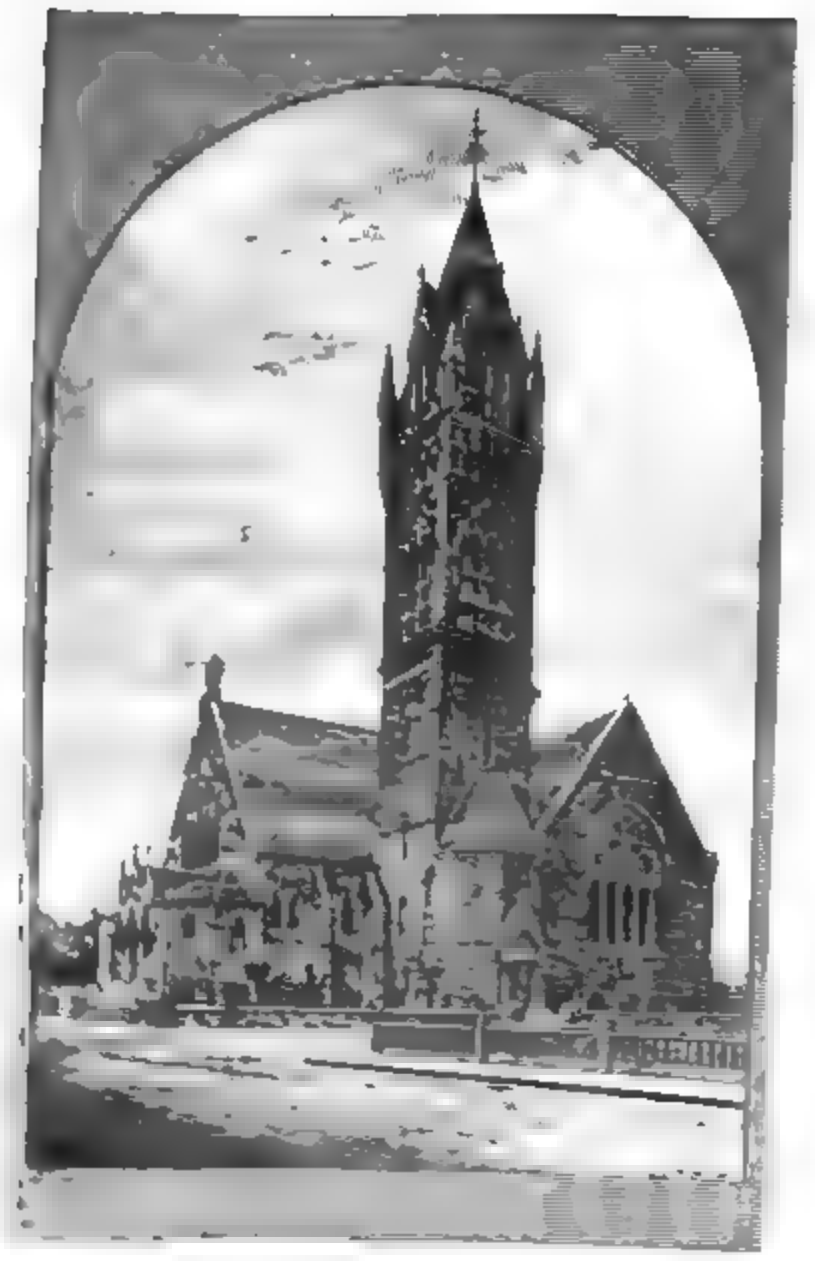
These services created much interest, and after a few Sundays' preaching in Swampscott the meetings were held in Woodend, where a series of lec-

tures, on alternate Sunday evenings, were delivered. This resulted in the formation of a society, the settlement of a pastor, and the establishment of regular meetings every Sabbath at the Town Hall.

The First Universalist Society was organized March 25, 1833, in the Town Hall. George Todd was chosen Moderator, and James M. Sargent, Clerk. The Rev. Josiah C. Waldo was engaged as pastor. In 1835 the society built a church on Union street — near Silsbee street — which was dedicated December 10. The dedicatory sermon was preached by the Rev. Thomas F. King — father of the late Thomas Starr King — of Charlestown. In the afternoon Rev. J. C. Waldo was installed as pastor, and remained with the society until 1838. On the 15th of May, 1839, the Rev. Lemuel Willis was installed as his successor. Mr. Willis remained with the society till September, 1842. Rev. Horace G. Smith, of Berlin, Conn., the next pastor, was installed May 18, 1843. He remained until February, 1844. Rev. Merritt Sanford was the next pastor. He began his labors January 19, 1845, and remained until the summer of 1848. Rev. Darwin Mott took charge of the society in July, 1848. Installed July 23. He resigned after a pastorate of two years.

In the summer of 1850 the meeting house was enlarged, and re-dedicated August 26. The Rev. Elbridge G. Brooks was next installed as pastor,

[redacted]



November, 1850, and remained in charge of the society until October 30, 1859. Rev. Sumner Ellis next took charge of the society March 13, 1860. Installed June 13. He remained until August, 1862.

Rev. Charles Wesley Biddle, of Newark, New Jersey, next took charge of the society December, 1862, and was installed February 5, 1863. Near the close of the year the church was remodeled, and re-dedicated March, 1864.

The corner stone of the Nahant street church was laid May 27, 1872. The church was dedicated September 18, 1873. The dedicatory sermon was preached by the Rev. Elbridge G. Brooks. The cost of the church and site was $140,000. It is one of the finest church structures in New England.

The old church was sold to the East Baptist Society. Both societies worshipped here until the new church on Nahant street was dedicated.

In January, 1880, Mr. Biddle resigned his charge, and John C. Adams accepted a call from the society.

The Sunday School of this church was organized about 1833. Edwin Thompson was chosen its first superintendent, and held the office about two years. At the present time the Sunday School is the largest in the denomination, numbering upward of seven hundred.

ST. STEPHEN'S CHURCH.

In 1819 a few persons attempted the formation of an Episcopal Church in Lynn. Their meetings were held in the Academy for about two years; most of the time under the pastoral care of the Rev. Asa Eaton, D. D., of Boston. The difficulty in obtaining clerical supplies — and other obstacles — led to a discontinuance of the service. No further attempt to establish the Episcopal Church was made here until 1834. One or two persons of that belief attended church in Salem or Marblehead. This circumstance attracting the attention of parties interested, led to the offer from Bishop Griswold to supply the people here for a time — if a place of meeting could be obtained. The offer was accepted, and a meeting called. In October, 1834, five gentlemen, viz.: Edward S. Davis, John Bowler, Alonzo Lewis, Richard A. Fleming, and James Whittaker, met and resolved themselves into a committee for the purpose of sustaining public worship according to the rites and usages of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Their first service was held in the First Methodist Church, at which the Rev. William H. Lewis, of Marblehead, officiated; the second at the Town Hall, the Rev. John A. Vaughan, of Salem, officiating; the third at the Lynn Academy — all before

the close of 1834. Regular service was begun on the first Sunday in January, 1835, at Liberty Hall, and continued with little interruption to nearly the end of the year, being served by various clergymen, as they could be obtained, when the place of worship was removed to what had been Masonic Hall, which was fitted up for their use.

In January, 1836, the Rev. Milton Ward, M. D., became the first minister, and the church was regularly organized under the name of Christ Church, Lynn, its officers chosen, and a church edifice was erected during the year. It was built on North Common street, nearly opposite Church street. It was consecrated July 20, 1837. In consequence of the burning of Masonic Hall the Church was occupied some weeks before consecration. Mr. Ward remained until March, 1837, when the Rev. George Waters took his place. He remained until October, 1839, and was succeeded by the Rev. F. W. I. Pollard, who resigned after one year's service, William A. White, a candidate for orders, acting as lay reader until 1841, when the difficulty of obtaining a clergyman, and also in securing funds, led the Missionary Association, by whom the clergyman was partly supported, to suspend the services for a time, although the organization was kept up.

Efforts were made to resuscitate the church which were not successful until 1844, when several indi-

viduals, who had lately become residents of the town, joining with those who were left of the former church, thought best to reorganize under another name, and from September 20, 1844, this organization has been known as St. Stephen's Church, Lynn. The church edifice built in 1837 was bought by the new organization. The names of the corporators were, Edward S. Davis, William H. Hubbard, Robert Farley, George M. Dexter, Edward D. Peters, Benjamin T. Reed, Edward S. Rand, William Foster Otis, Edward Codman, Robert Appleton and J. C. Brodhead. Services were immediately commenced. The Rev. George D. Wildes was rector from December, 1844, to September, 1845; Rev. Isaac W. Hallam, from February, 1846, to April, 1860; Rev. E. H. True, from June, 1860, to April, 1863; Rev. George S. Paine, from July, 1863, to July, 1864; Rev. Gordon M. Bradley, from January, 1865, to December, 1867; Rev. Benjamin W. Attwell, from April, 1868, to December, 1869; Rev. Edward L. Drown, from July, 1870, to July, 1875, and Rev. Louis DeCormis became rector in January, 1876, who is now in charge.

A new and stately edifice for this church is now in process of erection, for which the church is indebted to the liberality of Enoch R. Mudge, who builds it as a memorial to his departed children.

It will, doubtless, be one of the finest churches in the city.

ST. MARY'S CHURCH.

In the year 1835 the Rev. Mr. Wiley, who was located in Salem, finding that there were some Catholics in Lynn, had them meet together for divine service and instruction at the house of Lawrence Birney — at that time called the Castle — and mass was said for the first time in Lynn at that place. It still stands on the corner of Water Hill and May streets.

From that time mass was said there, or at Michael McMann's, on Boston street, or at Peter Murphy's, on Church street, down to 1845. In those days, as the Catholics were much scattered, and priests very few, divine service and instruction was only monthly, or at such times as would be convenient. Rev. Mr. Wiley was succeeded by Rev. J. Brady, who in turn was succeeded by Rev. J. A. Strain. After him came Rev. Dr. O'Flagherty, who, in 1845, made application for the Town House, which then stood at the head of Blossom street. The selectmen granted the use of the Town Hall free of cost. Benjamin Mudge was the chairman, and the Catholics, to this day, recollect with pride the kindness then shown to them. Rev. Dr. O'Flagherty was followed by Rev. J. Byrnes, Rev. Mr. Kidigan,

and Rev. J. O'Brien. Yet all this time — for some thirteen years — no effort was made for the establishment of a church. But this was due to the necessities of other places where Catholics were more numerous, and requirements of churches more needed. It was in the year 1848 that Rev. Charles Smith was appointed to the charge of Chelsea and Lynn. He secured the little school house near the Arcade, by the residence of Mark Healey, and fitted it up for church purposes. He was succeeded in January, 1851, by Rev. P. Strain, the present rector of St. Mary's Church, who, in the year 1854, enlarged the church. This church was burned on the night of the 28th of May, 1859, and was the work of an incendiary. The old Lyceum Hall, which stood on the corner of Summer and Market streets, was then used for Catholic services until the year 1861, at which time the present St. Mary's Church edifice was built. This was the finest church structure in Lynn at that time.

CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

This church was organized November 5, 1835. The first church was built in 1835, on the south side of Silsbee street, next to the railroad bridge. It was occupied but a short time by the society. In 1840 the present church was built — nearly opposite — and dedicated. During the present year

(1880) a tower has been added, the structure partially remodeled, and otherwise improved.

The following pastors have served the society: 1835, Philemon R. Russell; 1841, Josiah Knight; 1842, David Knowlton; 1842, Elihu Noyes; 1843, Warren Lincoln; 1851, Nicholas S. Chadwick; 1853, Seth Hinckley; 1854, William Miller; 1860, John Burden; 1862, Joseph Whitney; 1862, John O. Goss to 1869; H. C. Guilford and J. W. Larry, 1869; A. J. Hancock, 1870; J. W. Larry, 1870; Charles T. Camps, 1871; William Haight, 1872; Charles T. Camps, 1873; Mrs. Gustin, 1874. Pulpit supplies for the year ending June, 1876 — D. L. Crafts, 1876; W. W. Williams, 1877, and is now the pastor.

SECOND UNIVERSALIST SOCIETY.

The Second Universalist was organized March 9, 1836. March 26, 1837, Rev. Dunbar B. Harris was chosen to preach every alternate Sabbath. On the 2d of October, 1838, the society was reorganized, and Rev. William H. Taylor chosen to preach for three months. On the 13th of March, 1839, voted to purchase the church (formerly the Old Tunnel) which had been owned and used by the Christian Baptist Society.

In 1869 the church was remodeled and thoroughly repaired. The following is the list of pastors: May 19, 1839, Rev. E. N. Harris chosen pastor; May

3, 1840, Rev. Henry Jewell; December 25, 1842, Rev. John Nichols; July 27, 1845, Rev. O. H. Tillotson; 1848, Rev. John Moore; February 17, 1850, Rev. J. R. Johnson; June 13, 1852, Rev. E. W. Reynolds; April 22, 1855, Rev. Henry Jewell, second time; 1859, Rev. W. P. Payne; March 15, 1863, Rev. N. R. Wright; November 14, 1869, Rev. G. W. Payne; 1873, Rev. E. A. Drew, died October, 1874; March, 1875, Rev. Q. H. Shinn; October, 1877, Rev. Richard Eddy, D. D., chosen to supply for one year; 1879, Rev. F. M. Houghton engaged to supply, and he has charge of the society at the present time, (1880.)

THIRD BAPTIST SOCIETY — WYOMA.

In the autumn of 1858 the citizens of Wyoma held preliminary meetings for the purpose of forming themselves into a religious society. The organization was legally effected October 27, 1858, with John C. Blaney, Moderator. The name assumed was the Third Baptist Society. The officers were a Moderator, Treasurer, Collector, Assessor and five standing committees. Measures were immediately taken to secure a lot of land upon which to erect a church edifice, and solicit funds for the house. The land was given and deeded to the society by Upton J. Peabody. The house was erected on the north side of Boston street, a few

rods east of the square, and dedicated in 1860. Great credit is due to the late J. C. Bacheller for the liberal support which he gave to this enterprise. He contributed largely to its funds, and while a resident of Wyoma manifested a commendable interest in its prosperity.

The Sunday School was organized and sustained as a mission interest, largely through the efficient labors of John C. Blaney. In 1859 it was united to the Salem Baptist Sunday School Convention.

The church was organized June 18, 1861, under the auspices of Rev. W. C. Richards, then pastor of the First Baptist Church, of Lynn, with eight constituent members who were dismissed from the First Church. The church was publicly recognized as a Baptist church by ten Baptist churches of the Salem Association, December 27, 1861.

The following pastors have served the church: Rev. C. H. Cole, 1861 to 1864; Rev. J. P. Farrar, 1865 to 1867; Rev. W. P. Elsdon, 1868 to 1869; Rev. C. H. Cole, 1870 to 1874; Rev. C. C. Burroughs, 1874 to 1876. Since the last date the church has been served by supplies.

THE CENTRAL CHURCH.

A small beginning of the religious work out of which the Central Church ultimately grew, was made as early as the year 1847, when a Sabbath

School, numbering about a dozen scholars, was gathered in a private school room connected with the residence of the late Isaiah Breed, on Broad street. This little Sunday School, soon outgrowing their accommodations, was moved, first to the Friends' school house on Silsbee street, then to a school house on Newhall street, which had been formerly a railroad depot, and finally back to Silsbee street, to the old Freewill Baptist Chapel. This Sunday School was the original nucleus around which the Central Church and society were formed. In conjunction with the Sabbath School, occasional preaching services were held in the evening. Parsons Cooke, of the First Church, generally officiating.

For the better accommodation of the growing numbers that came to these services, the old chapel, above referred to, was purchased in the Spring of 1849 of the society of Freewill Baptists, then about disbanding, moved on to the ground where the present church edifice stands, and fitted up for a place of worship. The Sabbath School and the congregation so rapidly increased that in the autumn of 1849 it was thought best that some one should be permanently employed to serve as pastor. Rev. A. R. Baker, of West Needham, now Wellesley, was engaged for three months, with a view to determining whether a permanent ministry could be sustained. The chapel was soon found to be too small for the people who attended there; and

the project of building a larger and more suitable place of worship was at once begun.

The Society was organized under the name of the Central Congregational Society on the 13th of May, 1850, by the choice of Oliver B. Coolidge as clerk, and a Parish committee consisting of Isaiah Breed, Joshua Patch, Samuel M. Bubier, William Boynton, James Patch, J. E. F. Marsh, Bartlett B. Breed and Edwin Patch. Isaiah Breed gave the lot on Silsbee street, the present site of the church. Mr. Breed also gave generously for the erection of the building, as did also Samuel M. Bubier. Joined with these were Joshua Patch, William Boynton, and others.

Through their energy and liberality an elegant structure of wood was erected, and dedicated December 11, 1850. The cost, including the furnishing, was about $14,000.

On the day of dedication the Central Church was formally organized by an Ecclesiastical Council convoked for the purpose, and Rev. A. R. Baker took charge of the society.

Thirty-six persons, according to the church record, constituted the original church. Mr. Baker, who was not formally installed until a year later, remained pastor until August 15, 1854. His successor was Rev. J. B. Sewall, who was installed February 28, 1855. Mr. Sewall's ministry with the church continued until the close of 1864, when,

having been elected Professor of Ancient Languages in Bowdoin College, he resigned.

Near the close of his pastorate it was found necessary to enlarge and partially rebuild the church — which was done at such a liberal expense ($18,000) that it was made one of the most tasteful, commodious and attractive churches in the city. It was re-dedicated in the Fall of 1864. The sermon was preached by its retiring pastor. Mr. Sewall was succeeded, with only a brief interval, by Rev. A. H. Currier, installed May 17, 1865. Mr. Currier had been settled over the Society but little more than a year, when the church edifice was destroyed by fire, September 9, 1866. The Society set at once upon the work of rebuilding, and by the energy and munificence of its members the present structure of brick and stone, surpassing the one lost in size and convenience, was completed at a cost of upward of $40,000, and dedicated June 17, 1868. Mr. Currier is still the pastor of this church.

BOSTON STREET M. E. CHURCH.

The beginning of the movement to establish this society was in 1850, James Pool, Jr., being chief among the leaders in this work. It was finally decided to build a church on Boston street, and in 1852 a lot was purchased.

The new society was organized May 20, 1853.

Loranus Crowell was the first pastor. The original members were from the First Methodist and South Street churches.

In the spring of 1853 the church was begun and completed, and on the 9th of June it was dedicated, the sermon being preached by Rev. Miner Raymond.

A Sunday School was at once organized, with James Pool, Jr., as Superintendent. Soon after an organ was bought, and a parsonage secured. In 1859 an addition of twenty feet was made to the church; and in 1870 other alterations, making room for the organ in the rear.

The following is the list of pastors: Loranus Crowell, 1853; Isaac S. Cushman, 1854–5; E. A. Manning, 1856–7; H. E. Hempstead, 1858–9; Aaron D. Sargeant, 1860–1; C. L. McCurdy, 1862; A. F. Herrick, 1863–4; Frederick Woods, 1865–6–7; no settled pastor in 1868; John W. Lindsay, 1869–70–1; George Whitaker, 1872; Angelo Canoll, 1873–4; Charles S. Rogers, 1875–6–7; Charles N. Smith, 1878–9–80.

THE MAPLE STREET METHODIST SOCIETY.

Organized on the first Sunday in March, 1851, by Amos Benney, Presiding Elder of the Charlestown district. Religious services, in connection with a Sunday School, had, however, been held in

the neighborhood since 1829. In the latter part of the year 1850 the building now known as the "Old Chapel" was purchased of the New Central Congregational Society, then worshipping in Silsbee street, and removed to Maple street, being drawn by oxen through Union and Chestnut streets, to its present location.

As this little chapel has a "history" as serving the need of several religious societies in the day of small things, and as it has traveled more miles, and presented its front more ways than any building known among us, a brief sketch of its checkered experiences is here given.

The first use of this building was as a pottery establishment in South Danvers. It was subsequently bought by the South Danvers Methodist Society, and used by them till they purchased the old Congregational house of worship, when the Freewill Baptist Society of this city bought it and removed it to Lynn, to the corner of Summer and Pleasant streets. This society finally vacated it, when the New Central Orthodox Society obtained it. Under the auspices of the Maple Street Society the house was opened for public services December 27, 1850, the sermon being preached by the Rev. John W. Lindsay.

In the month of October following, it was found necessary to enlarge the edifice to accommodate the people. This was done by opening the build-

ing at the ridge-pole and widening as well as lengthening it, thereby doubling its seating capacity, and affording sittings for two hundred and fifty people. In this form it was occupied till the completion of the vestry of the new edifice in 1872. This old chapel was bought by the society for $400, and the site it occupies was obtained for $18, one-third of its value, the other two-thirds being given by Mrs. Betsey Batchelder, of Marblehead.

The new church, located on the corner of Chestnut and Maple streets, was begun in the spring of 1871, and was dedicated February 15, 1872. It has sittings for one thousand, including both vestries, and cost some $27,000. The main auditorium will seat six hundred persons.

The following pastors have served the society: 1851, Mark Staples; 1852, Daniel Richards; 1854, Abraham D. Merrill; 1856, Howard C. Dunham; 1858, Oliver S. Howe; 1859, Jarvis A. Ames; 1861, Abraham M. Osgood; 1863, John S. Day; 1865, Nathan D. George; 1866–7, Ichabod Marcy; 1869, Franklin G. Morris; 1870–1–2, John A. Lansing; 1873–4, Albert Gould; 1875–6, Garrett C. Beekman; 1877, Loranus Crowell; 1878–9–80, Edward A. Manning, the present incumbent.

THE WASHINGTON STREET BAPTIST CHURCH.

The rapid increase of population in the eastern

part of the city was thought to necessitate the formation of a new Baptist Society for the better accommodation of those in that section. Accordingly preaching was begun and a Sunday School was established in 1851, in Union Hall, a small hall over a grocery store on Union street. "Seven brethren," the clerk notes in his record, "agreed to support, with what aid they could obtain from others, a Baptist meeting in this part of the city." These seven were, Amos Lewis, Amos Austin, George K. Pevear, Thomas Roberts, J. C. Blaney, Henry A. Pevear and C. A. York. These seven persons afterward constituted the legal organization of the Second Baptist Society of Lynn.

In October, 1852, Rev. J. H. Tilton was invited to become the pastor. In 1854 a council, duly convened, recognized thirty-nine persons, seven men and thirty-two women, as the Second Baptist Church of Lynn. In 1858 the church on High street was built, and on the 7th of October of the same year the church was dedicated. Rev. Alfred Owen was installed as pastor on the evening of the same day. Mr. Owen resigned his pastorate January, 1867, and in May, Rev. J. S. Holmes accepted a call of the church, and was ordained June 18. During his ministry a Sunday School was organized in Swampscott, and in 1872 fifteen withdrew to form the Baptist church in that town. In the same year a Mission School was organized in

Providence Hall, Ward Three, and prayer meetings and preaching services were held. The church on High street, having outgrown its accommodations, the fine edifice on the corner of Washington and Essex streets was begun in 1873, and dedicated June, 1874. While the new church was in course of erection ninety members withdrew to form the East Baptist Church, and most of the Providence Hall school, numbering one hundred and fifty teachers and scholars, joined the Sunday School of the new society. The church from this time was known as the Washington Street Baptist Church. In May, 1874, Mr. Holmes closed his pastorate, and in February, 1875, Rev. D. W. Faunce accepted the call of the church, and is now its pastor.

CHESTNUT STREET CHURCH.

This society was organized February 16, 1857. Its first meetings were held in Brimblecom Hall, corner of Lewis and Breed streets. The Rev. Daniel L. Gear was the first minister. The church was built in 1857, and dedicated January 1, 1858. Mr. Gear remained till 1860, and was succeeded by the Rev. John Moore, who was pastor until 1864. He was followed by Edwin Smith, who remained till 1870. Webster Patterson was the next pastor. He remained until his death, in 1874. Willard A.

Spaulding was the next pastor, serving until 1879. John T. Blades took charge of the society June, 1879, and is still the pastor.

THE NORTH CHURCH.

This church was organized by seventy-four members from the First Church, Lynn, May 6, 1869, and a call extended to Rev. James M. Whiton on the 18th. After occupying temporary places of worship for awhile, the society built the present church on Laighton street. Its dimensions are forty-five feet by eighty. It was dedicated January 15, 1871. Mr. Whiton was installed the first pastor February 13, 1872. His pastorate closed March 14, 1875. James L. Hill was Mr. Whiton's successor. He began his labors in June, 1875, and is still (1880) the pastor.

FREEWILL BAPTIST CHURCH.

The Union Street Freewill Baptist Church was organized September 7, 1871, with thirty-two members. Rev. J. Burnham Davis was installed as pastor on the 8th, and after about one year of successful ministry resigned and went to another field. In April, 1874, Rev. A. J. Kirkland was elected pastor, and satisfactorily served the church till his resignation in September, 1875. In February,

1876, Rev. H. S. Kimball was called to the pastorate, but at the expiration of a year resigned on account of ill health. The present pastor, Rev. A. P. Tracy, came to the church July 1, 1877.

In 1876 the society sold its house of worship on Union street, and in 1877 purchased that on High street. There they began to worship in June, 1877. Before taking full possession of the property, the church was re-organized, becoming a corporate body, under the name of High Street Freewill Baptist Church. Forty-one have been added to the church since July 1, 1877, and its present number is one hundred and thirty-one. It has a growing congregation, and a Sabbath School numbering over two hundred.

THE EAST OR FOURTH BAPTIST SOCIETY.

This church was organized April 21, 1874, at which time seventy-five persons presented letters of dismission and recommendation, sixty-four of whom were from the High Street Church, Lynn. A call was extended to the Rev. John S. Holmes to become their pastor. The name of the church, and the church covenant, were adopted April 24. The first public service was held April 26. The Sabbath School was organized at the close of this service, with an attendance of sixty-six.

On the 5th of May, 1874, it was voted to call a

council of the churches comprising the Salem Baptist Association, together with the Baptist churches in West Bridgewater and South Boston, for the purpose of recognizing the society as an independent Baptist church, and on the 14th of May the council met and passed the vote of recognition, and on the 19th the public service of recognition took place, the Rev. Wayland Hoyt preaching the sermon. On the 5th of July Rev. John S. Holmes accepted the call extended to him, and entered upon the duties of pastor.

On the 11th of October it was voted to purchase the church property of the Free Baptist Society on Union street, conditionally, and on the 1st of November, 1875, it was voted to purchase the property at a cost of $18,000.

On the 7th of July, 1875, Mr. Holmes resigned his charge. On the 11th of August, 1878, Rev. Henry Hinckley, of Cambridgeport, accepted a call of the society, and is still (1880) the pastor.

TRINITY METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

This church was organized May 7, 1873, under the labors of Rev. Alonzo Sanderson, who was appointed to the then "Tower Hill Mission" by Bishop Wiley, at the session of the New England Conference held in Lynn that year. Previous to this time this field was occupied by the First Congre-

ST. JOSEPH'S (CATHOLIC) CHURCH, LYNN, MASS.

gational Society as a mission, chiefly under the care of Rev. Mr. Holmes. The society held its first meetings in the little chapel — near the site of the present church — before occupied by the "Mission" society.

During the first year of Mr. Sanderson's pastorate the society began to build the present church near the corner of Boston and Ashland streets. It was dedicated February, 1874. Mr. Sanderson is still the pastor, after an unusual service of nearly seven years.

The church has a membership of over one hundred, and a Sunday School of over one hundred and fifty.

ST. JOSEPH'S CHURCH.

St. Joseph's Church, Union street, was built in 1875. The Parish having been formed in June, 1874, and Rev. J. C. Harrington appointed pastor. The census of this Parish showed that there were two thousand five hundred Catholics within this district, including those in Swampscott. Its divine services were first conducted in the Congregational church on Silsbee street. The corner stone of the new church was laid July 4, 1875, and services were held in the vestry on the following Christmas.

The church, when finished, will be one of the finest in the city. It is seventy-four by one hund-

red and forty-six feet, with a seating capacity of nine hundred in the basement, and one thousand two hundred in the auditorium of the church. It was designed by James Murphy, of Providence, R. I. The style is Gothic, with grained ceiling, and will cost $75,000 when finished. There are six hundred children attending the Sunday School, directed by a Superintendent, Secretary and seventy teachers, with six hundred volumes in the Sunday School library.

St. Joseph's Cemetery, Wyoma, belongs to this church, and was consecrated October 16th, by Archbishop Williams, assisted by several clergymen.

THE AFRICAN M. E. CHURCH.

This church was organized in 1856, and their house — on Mailey street — was built in 1857. The following is the list of pastors: Joseph P. Turner, 1857; Ebenezer Williams, 1858; Edward B. Davis, 1860; William Chase, 1861; John Brown, 1864; Daniel Mason, 1865; Joseph S. Smith, 1866; William W. Johnson, 1868; John T. Hayslett, 1869; William J. Laws, 1871; James H. Madison, 1873; Stephen V. Douglass, 1875; Perry L. Stanford, 1877; Horace Talbot, 1879.

BIOGRAPHIES.

ALONZO LEWIS.

The following is intended simply as a sketch of the life of Alonzo Lewis. A more complete biography has been written by an appreciative friend — James R. Newhall — his successor in his historical labors. That biography appears in the last edition of the History of Lynn. The reader of this sketch will discover the ground of the writer's presumption in attempting to recall events, and to revive reminiscences that will carry many now living back to the days of their childhood, and enable them to live over again scenes which, however brief in their duration, mankind cherish as the dearest treasures garnered in the storehouse of memory. The chief value of this record will be, that it is based upon the writer's personal knowledge of the man, and runs back to that period when, as children in school, we sustain to the teacher the nearest, and often the dearest, relation found beyond the domestic circle.

The writer's recollection of Mr. Lewis dates back to the year 1833, soon after Mr. Lewis took charge

of the grammar school in Ward Four. He had just published a new edition of his poems, and the writer remembers with what pride and satisfaction he received, as a member of the first class, a copy from the hands of the author. As a teacher, Mr. Lewis stood high, as the current testimony of those times shows, as well as the reports of school committees through a series of years. Though not a collegiate, he had more learning than a half-dozen often met with laying claim to that distinction. But he had a higher qualification for this responsible trust than even this. He was a man of fine sensibilities; and in those times, when flogging in school was the common order of things, he never indulged in it as a pastime. Often disgusted with what seemed to him the too frequent occasions for corporal punishment, he would announce to his pupils a determination to try the milder expedients of persuasion, and an appeal to their sense of right. This would be followed by the abolition of all the terrifying emblems of authority. Accordingly, straps, sticks and rulers were burnt, or banished from the school-room until some exigency arose, some example of insubordination, or mutterings of threatened rebellion, when chronological difficulties stood in the way of a settlement by a lecture on ethics, or a reference to a court of arbitration. Then there was no time to take up the purely psychological aspects of the question at issue, or dilate upon the

transcendent attractions of moral esthetics, and so a return to the old routine seemed inevitable.

While Mr. Lewis had, doubtless, a love for his profession beyond that of most men, it must have been equally true that he found much that was irksome and repulsive in the daily tasks set before him. His nervous, poetical temperament was keenly alive to the jarring discords of the school-room ; and the drudgery inevitable in a school such as he taught, must have been like heavy chains about his feet. Let us glance for a moment at a school-room in those days. A hundred pupils, more or less, ranging in age from eight to sixteen years, confined in a close, unpainted, ill-ventilated apartment, not large enough for one-half that number. Eight or ten are crowded upon a bench extending from the side of the building to the single aisle in the center, affording an excellent chance to skulk, to pinch one another, pull hair and carry on a miscellaneous conversation upon the current news of the day. Goose-quills are to be made into pens for those who write, and pens are to be mended. There is but little classification of pupils, for the mixed-up condition of things admits of nothing more. A score or more of recitations, including the jerky and spasmodic efforts of the small boy reading his short sentences, and the most advanced learners struggling with the mysteries of algebraic symbols, and all between these extremes are to be heard

each day. And all this without the aid of any assistant to lighten his labors. It is not to be supposed that a man of his sensitive nature could remain unmoved amid the petty annoyances too trifling to be noticed, but too aggravating to be borne without a struggle. It is still less likely that he could preserve the "soul's calm sunshine," when some juvenile rebel tore down the barriers of order, and possibly of decency, by committing an offence too heinous to be winked out of sight.

Poetry and fiction furnish us with some examples of men who have reached sublime heights of self-control and serene equanimity of temper. Blow high or blow low; let the weather be of any sort ever known in moral meteorology, no matter, there they are. But these, for the most part, never kept school. Most of the romance writers were, and are, too wise to include a case like that, and so Mr. Lewis, tried beyond human endurance, would occasionally flog a boy. The writer does not wish to lay any stress upon the fact that he was taught and thrashed by the most talented man in town — the teaching largely predominating over the thrashings. The problem has been suggested to his mind, but with no attempt at solution, whether the scales would n't have turned the other way had the teacher, looking down the vista of time, foreseen his pupil at work upon this record, walking with a feeble gait, and at an immeasurable distance behind his master

in his endeavors to revive and keep alive something worthy to make part of the history of Lynn. He has nothing to complain of in the administration of Mr. Lewis, and only regrets that, as he had an early "call" to go to "work," he could not remain to reap the benefits of a tuition such as a teacher so gifted as his could impart.

It is not surprising, then, that under the extreme trials which are the lot, in some degree, of every teacher — but which in those days were experienced in a much higher degree — Mr. Lewis was not always serene. He had certain constitutional traits and peculiarities of temperament, for which he was no more responsible than for the color of his hair, or the size of his foot. These, to some extent, doubtless, tinged the stream of his existence: but, for the most part, they were only ripples upon its surface, disturbing its even flow for a while, but no more determining its course or measuring its volume than the drift-wood floating on the river gauges the value of the commerce it bears to the sea.

But even those who are disposed to take the most rose-colored view of this picture of early times, will hardly claim that the atmosphere of such a school-room was ethereal enough, whether considered as a material medium or a moral force, to float the delicate music from a poet's lyre, or inspire the imagination to ascend Alpine heights of song. But when the arduous and often tormenting labor

of the day was over, Mr. Lewis did refresh his tired spirits as he listened to the music of the sea he loved so well, or, as a night watcher and worshiper among the "templed hills," caught "glimpses that made him less forlorn" and melted earth's heaviest fetters in the crucible of a poet's fancy. Health and manly vigor and high hopes of the future were his invincible allies, inspiring him with courage to work and wait; and so he girded himself and went forward. In spite of the drudgery of his daily toil, these were, doubtless, the happiest days of his life.

Mr. Lewis left his profession as teacher in 1835, having taught in our public schools some twelve years. He first taught (in 1823) the grammar school in Ward Five, afterward one of the same grade in Ward Three, and lastly the school in Ward Four. It is a remarkable fact that during these years of arduous school labor he did a large part of the literary work of his life. His first volume of poems appeared in 1823. This volume contained some of his juvenile productions, a few of them written as early as 1810. Six editions of his poems, with revisions and additions, were subsequently published, and gained for their author a wide reputation.

Mr. Lewis must have been one of the most industrious of men. As one looks at the literary work which he had accomplished even at this early age,

and this, too, in spite of the exacting demands and harassing cares of a most exhausting profession, he will find an illustration of the truth of Buffon's definition of genius — ability to work. In 1829 he published the first edition of the History of Lynn in numbers, a work costing him years of patient investigation, the explorer where none had been before him, a pioneer cutting out a path for those who should come after. The inexperienced in a task like this know nothing of the difficulties to be encountered. Delving among old records, hunting up almost forgotten manuscripts without indexes or references to guide his way, with only an obscure hint or an uncertain clew to follow, which costs days or weeks of labor, ending often in a fruitless search — these are a few of the obstacles to be met with by one who attempts for the first time to tell the story of the past, and record the experiences of generations who have left behind them only the scattered remnants of their history.

This work, which passed through two editions, was the chief literary labor of his life. During all this time, and subsequently, he wrote for the press. He was the first editor of the *Record*, a paper first published in 1830. Owing to a misunderstanding concerning the policy to be pursued in the management of the paper, Mr. Lewis resigned his editorial charge at the close of the first six weeks.

Lynn owes a debt to Mr. Lewis which she can

never repay. To him more than to any other man she is indebted for her growth and prosperity. One looking only at the surface of things might call in question the soundness of this estimate of Mr. Lewis' work and influence. This work did not show itself at once in spacious factories or extensive warehouses, or magnificent public buildings — but it made all these things possible, and led the way to their realization. It was his gifted pen that first called the attention of strangers to the unrivaled beauty of her shores, and the grandeur of her scenery, and invested Nature's wondrous handiwork with unfading charms. Caves and grottoes, secluded glen and silvery lake, reflecting the glories of the rising sun or mirroring by moonlight the grand amphitheater of pine-clad hills, calling to mind Whittier's magnificent picture —

> " When the young archer, Morn, shall break
> His arrows on the mountain pines,
> And, golden-sandaled, walk the lake " —

all these were set forth in the poet's melodious verse, or immortalized by his descriptions in prose that rivaled in genius the finest productions of the writers of romance. To him, mainly, is she indebted for the lighthouse on her coast, and for the protection of her beaches. No work of public improvement escaped his notice. It seems almost wonderful that a man of his poetical genius, given,

as many suppose, to reveries and abstractions, should be so constantly engaged in the solution of the most practical questions of every-day experience. In this respect he had a rare combination, which is the highest evidence of his genius. Like Benjamin Franklin, a smoky chimney, or a bungling shoe that pinched the foot of the wearer, did not escape his notice, and he went to work for a remedy. In a Directory which he published, he presented a diagram showing how lasts could be made that recognized the anatomy of the human foot, instead of the old barbarous methods that gave more than ample room where it was least required, and cramped the toes and distorted the foot by contracting the space where it was most needed; and all this in obedience to an idiotic fashion. At the present time the best English, French and American shoes conform substantially to the plan suggested by Mr. Lewis.

But it was not the various questions affecting the material interests of the town that alone engaged the attention of Mr. Lewis. He was one of the first to engage in the anti-slavery movement, just then beginning to assume a special significance under the organizing hand of Garrison. Even before this his protest found utterance in the following language: "The political system of our nation is probably the best which was ever devised by man for the common good; but it practically embraces

one evil too obvious to be disregarded. While it advances the principle that all men have by nature the same civil rights, it retains, with strange inconsistency, one-sixth of the whole population in a state of abject bodily and mental servitude. On its own principles, our government has no right to enslave any portion of its subjects; and I am constrained in the name of God and truth to say that they must be free. Christianity and political expediency both demand their emancipation, nor will they always remain unheard. * * * * Where are the ministers of our holy religion that their prayers are not preferred for the liberation and enlightenment of men with souls as immortal as their own? Where are the Senators and Representatives of our free States that their voices are not heard in behalf of this most injured race?"

In the following sentence he gives wider scope to his benevolent impulses: "I trust the time will come when on the annals of our country will be inscribed the abolition of slavery — when the inhuman custom of war shall be viewed with abhorrence — when humanity shall no longer be outraged by the exhibition of capital punishment — when the one great principle of LOVE shall pervade all classes — when the poor shall be furnished with employment and ample remuneration — when men shall unite their exertions for the promotion of those plans which embrace the welfare of the whole —

that the unqualified approbation of Heaven may be secured to our country, and that 'glory may dwell in our land.'"

Mr. Lewis' practice was consistent with his precepts. He was among the first to organize an anti-slavery society in town, and one of the sixteen who assembled in Boston at the second anti-slavery meeting called by Garrison. He was one of those who organized the first temperance society in town, and assisted in establishing the first Sunday School in Lynn. The following extract from a letter written by Mr. Garrison to Mr. Lewis illustrates the state of the anti-slavery movement in the "day of small things," and shows how closely the latter was identified with it in its earliest stages. The date of the letter is March 12, 1831. After alluding to the general aspect of the cause, Mr. Garrison writes —

"Do any of the good people of Lynn wish to hear a couple of addresses on slavery? If a hall can easily and gratuitously be obtained, and if as many will attend as honored friend Lundy with their presence, (twenty according to one of your correspondents,) it will give me pleasure to address them on Saturday and Sunday evenings next, (19th and 20th inst.,) at 7 o'clock. I will cheerfully pay for lighting the hall, etc. The first lecture will be a defence of the doctrine of immediate abolition, and a reply to the popular objections of the day. The other will be an examination of the merits of the American Colonization Society. I am willing to give

you a little trouble because I know you will gladly incur it, but you must not be put to the expense of a farthing in procuring a place. On this condition alone can I consent to come."

But he not only had a deep sympathy with Mr. Garrison in his great work; he had also a high appreciation of his intellectual talents and his moral fitness for the grand movement which was soon to rock the nation on the stormy waves of conflicting opinion, and finally break the fetters of the slave by the shock of battle. The following sonnet shows how accurately he took the measure of the slave's great champion, whose self-sacrificing life, just closed by a triumphing death, built for him a monument more enduring than brass:

TO WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

Thy God has cast thee in a noble mould,
And poured thy fabric full of living soul,
That fills, informs, and animates the whole,
As if we saw a vision form unroll;
And thou goest forward with Ithurial's spear
To combat with the evils of the world;
And thy keen polished shafts on high are hurled
To fill Oppression with a dreadful fear,
And drive him from his hold in Freedom's land,
Where he has marshaled forth a mail-clad band,
Armed with the scourge of torture. Like a knight,
Who battled for the Cross in days of old.
With truth thy shield, go forward, and be bold,
And may God aid thee in the glorious fight.

MR. LEWIS AS A POET.

Mr. Lewis began to write verse at an early age. That he wrote well, the high praise he received from competent judges fully proves. In a notice of his poetical writings, the Sheffield *Iris*, (Eng.,) edited by the poet James Montgomery, alluded to a volume of his "poems," just then published, in the following complimentary terms:

"In many of the moral and religious effusions of our American brethren there is an expressed weariness of life and a longing to be rid of its cares and woes, which we cannot but reprehend, inasmuch as these things in the hands of Providence are elements of that salutary discipline which is no doubt intended to perfect our education for immortality. In the poems of Mr. Lewis we rejoice to see the manifestations of a healthier and more comprehensive spirit. * * * * Many passages of exceeding beauty will be found in the poem of Love as well as in the minor pieces which are appended, the majority of them being characterized by high moral views, with great sweetness of versification. Of these a specimen will be found in our Poet's Corner, which, if carefully read, cannot but prompt the wish that the exquisite little volume from which it was taken may have as extensive a circulation in the old country as in the new."

The Norwich (Eng.) *Gazette* published the following high commendation:

"We think our readers will agree with us, that this is as mellifluous verse as ever Campbell or Rogers wrote."

The poem alluded to by the Sheffield *Iris* opens as follows:

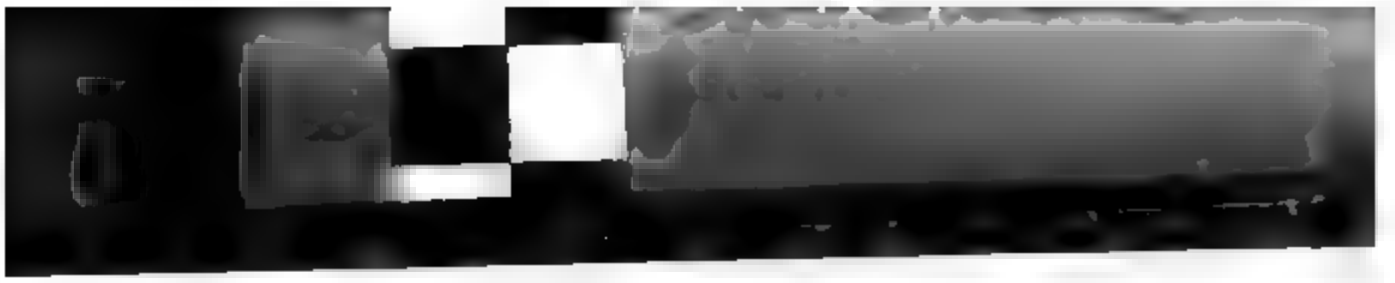
A purer theme than ever mortal sung,
A sweeter word hangs on my trembling tongue;
Angels have listened to its voice divine,
And seraphs bowed before its holy shrine.

O, thou, fair Truth, whose form arrayed in light,
Glows by thy throne of heaven forever bright,
Send thy pure rays into thy poet's heart,
And holy strength to my glad mind impart;
That I may trace the origin of Love,
And teach mankind to seek her fount above.

The following lines from the same poem present a fine picture of a starry night —

Benignant Power, how fair thy works appear!
How full thy glories in each burning sphere:
The Northern Harp with strings of twinkling gold,
Pours forth its constant harmony untold;
There his bright lamp Arcturus holds on high,
Filling with light the chambers of the sky;
While in a shining group the gentle band
Of sister Pleiads hold each others' hand,
And dance all night along the spangled plain,
To the rich music of the heavenly strain.

Though humor was not a marked trait in his writings, Mr. Lewis could write humorously, as his "Ode to the Sea Serpent" shows.



The poetry of Mr. Lewis reveals no intimate knowledge of the world, nor a deep insight into the manifold workings of human nature. He has written none of those immortal lines that haunt the memory, and are transmitted from age to age, the imperishable dower that genius bequeaths to the sons of men. He was a student of nature rather than of character. He loved the music of the sea, as its gentle ripples in the sheltered harbor played beneath the windows of his cottage, or as its stormy waves broke in fury on the beach a few rods distant, sounding their everlasting dirges in the watches of the night. And he loved the solitude of the woods. The waving of the pines, and the sighing of the winds beneath the "fretted vault" of heaven were to him grander than swinging censers and the sublimest strains of cathedral anthem. He was a great admirer of Wordsworth, to whom he alludes in one of his finest stanzas —

> Thou, fit to stand where Shakspeare stood of old,
> And see the secrets of the Muse unfold;
> To lie reclined upon the hallowed sod,
> And be the priest of Nature and of God.

But meritorious as some of Mr. Lewis' poetical productions are, he holds a higher rank as a writer of prose. His style is always easy and graceful, and often elegant; while some of his descriptions manifest a high degree of literary art. Passages

can be found in the introduction to his History that are scarcely excelled by any modern writer. This is the more remarkable in view of the fact that he must have written under the pressure of circumstances that gave him little leisure for that pruning and careful revision found so essential even to those most skilled in the art of expression. His writings abound in classical allusions, and his frequent reference to the great masters of English speech show the wide extent of his erudition.

Mr. Lewis was born in Lynn, on the 28th of August, 1794, and died January 21, 1861, at the age of sixty-seven.

WILLIAM D. THOMPSON.

William Diamond Thompson was born in 1787 in the rocky town of Marblehead. He moved to Lynn about ten years later, where he lived until his death, in 1875. Mr. Thompson was what might be called an original character; but his originality did not run in those eccentric channels that often call for a large amount of charity and patience in following their windings. On the contrary, Mr. Thompson was always genial, always hopeful, and just as ready to say "good morning" to a boy as to

a full-grown man. Soon after coming to Lynn he worked a while at the "old craft," and then learned the art of cutting shoes. He manufactured shoes for a time in a small way, and afterward engaged in cutting shoes for his brother-in-law, Joseph B. Breed. In 1827 or '28 he obtained a position in the factory of Nathan Breed, and for many years, till near the time of his death, he was manager of Mr. Breed's large business. Mr. Thompson was an admirable salesman. He could tell more stories and sell more shoes in the same length of time than almost any man living in these parts.

These were the days when slavery was in full blast, and when our shoe business, which at first was confined entirely to New England, had extended to the South until that section became our chief customer. Mr. Thompson was a stalwart abolitionist from the first. He had an instinctive hatred of slavery, and was one of the small number ready to welcome Garrison and his few coworkers at the very start of their great mission. His home was ever open to welcome the great champion, and it was not many years before Lynn became known as the "hot-bed" of abolitionism. As a matter of course, Southern dealers came on here once or twice a year to purchase shoes; and as might be supposed, these dealers had little sympathy with abolition views. It was a performance worth studying to see Mr. Thompson handle one

of these customers. First he would tell a story, called out by some remark, or by something that was passing in the street. Then, as if it were an incident of the occasion, he would call attention to a particular style of shoe as just the thing for the Southern market. Then, as if making a casual remark, he would say — "Here 's something we 've got up specially for your section; extra wide, sevens to elevens." (Most folks called these nigger shoes.) So he would lead his customer on, going from one thing to another by an easy transition, many of the topics brought forward not having apparently the remotest bearing upon any style of shoes then known. But they all did have an important bearing. His customer concluded he was the man to trade with, and in spite of his abolitionism — for Mr. Thompson took no pains to conceal his views — the most fiery defender of slavery from the South was often seen in the salesroom cracking jokes with Mr. Thompson, as though he had known him from his youth up.

It was amusing to hear Mr. Thompson talk Marblehead. As he was a Marbleheader himself, he claimed a large liberty in this direction. He was pretty sure to imitate some of the peculiarities of speech that used to prevail in that ancient town whenever any of its inhabitants, workmen or binders, happened to be present. Brief notes, written on paper as miscellaneous in its size, quality and

shape as their contents were miscellaneous in their character, were sent by workmen and binders living in Marblehead. These notes were usually called "dockets." One day the expressman called and handed Mr. Thompson a budget of these "dockets." The writer happened to be present. Mr. Thompson took one and began to read aloud so that all present might hear — "Mr. Thompson, I want another set of lasts; four can't work on one set." He read this as Dickens read his Wellerisms, broadening the vowels and rendering every part with scrupulous faithfulness. He then took up another. "Here 's a fellow who thinks he makes 'French.' I told him to make the edges a little thinner, and he wants a rise in his price." This allusion to "French" will be quite clear to the old "jours," but to the uninitiated an explanation will be needed. About this time, the style called "French" shoes came into fashion, so called from their supposed resemblance to the imported article. The uppers were usually of light French kid, (when it was not American,) sometimes of white satin, and occasionally of other light and delicate material. The soles were cut from the best of light leather, and in "rounding on" were "feather-edged" down to the "grain," so that the edge, when finished, was about as thick as a ten-cent piece. Some of these native productions imitated the French article. Some of them did n't. A wag remarked that some

of these shoes furnished a sufficient reason for a declaration of war on the part of France.

Mr. Thompson was popular with the workmen. He was very liberal in furnishing "findings" for them, such as rosin, paste-flour, bees-wax — for making channel-wax, as well as for binders' use. There was a good deal of difference in the practice of manufacturers in this particular, some of them supplying little or none of these things, while others furnished all that were needed. In this list, paste-flour held the first rank. A prominent manufacturer told the writer the following story — plus the names: "Uncle Somebody worked for a boss who found paste-flour. Uncle used a good deal of paste-flour. It was hinted that it was not all used for adhesive purposes, but was made to serve as the staff of life. Not to put too fine a point upon it, he had it made into cakes. The boss got wind of this. He also got wind of the fact that Uncle expected company when an unusual quantity of paste-flour would be needed. Uncle called for a supply of flour and the boss had some already — nicely mixed with *pulverized rosin*. The rosin, not acting in the least like baking-powders or yeast when baked, made a compound such as was never seen on sea or land. Bread being the main article in an old times bill of fare, and good bread being the chief delight of a thrifty housewife, especially when company was to judge of its quality, this unlooked-

for result came upon Uncle's family circle like a domestic Waterloo."

As already intimated, he had an inexhaustible fund of stories and reminiscences. One day a workman from Marblehead entered the factory; as he had put in an appearance a few days before, Mr. Thompson said — "How 's this? You were here a day or two ago." "Well, I had a chance to come over." "Ah, how 's that Joe?" "Well, you see Tom Roundey was going to walk over, and I came over with him." The rarity of such a "chance" as this made Mr. Thompson smile audibly.

A Quaker, well-known in the neighborhood, called one day and inquired of Nathan — as Mr. Breed was usually called — if he did n't want a basket of good apples. The price being satisfactory, Nathan told him that he might leave a basket. Mr. Thompson said he would have a basket of the same kind. In due time the apples were brought. The Quaker pointed to one, and with special emphasis, remarked — "*That* basket, Nathan, is thine; the other, William, is thine." Mr. Thompson mused within himself, "Of course these two baskets of apples are just alike — same kind, the same price. I 'll send Nathan's basket down to my house;" and they were delivered accordingly. A short time after, the Quaker made his appearance again in Nathan's factory. Nathan was present; so was

Mr. Thompson. "How did thee like thy apples, Nathan?" asked the Quaker. "*Poor things; poor things!*" said Nathan, in his crisp and emphatic manner. Mr. Thompson poised himself for the occasion — "Mine were *excellent, excellent!*" As the case was sufficiently elucidated, no further comment was made.

During the anti-Masonic controversy of 1830, and the few years following, Mr. Thompson was known as a stanch anti-Mason. In short, he was never anything but stanch in the support of any opinion he saw reason to hold.

Mr. Thompson was also one of the earliest among the temperance reformers. In all the earlier stages of the movement, through the years preceding the Washingtonian reform, he was a thorough, consistent temperance man, who never preached beyond his practice; and he was among the very first that stood on the total abstinence platform. Skeptics might assail the soundness of his philosophy, but they never attempted to cast doubt on the sincerity of his convictions, or the consistency of his practice.

As might have been expected, Mr. Thompson entered the Washingtonian movement with his whole soul. He combined the zeal of the new convert with the steadfastness of the veteran. The few aged men now living among us, whose life took on a new meaning from the date of that great moral upheaval, remember, and will never forget,

the friend whose counsel and money were never wanting when poverty and the besetments of a drunkard's appetite stood in their path like an Apollyon ready to slay and devour them.

Though outspoken in his denunciation of those who he believed were wilfully following the wrong, and setting snares for the feet of the young and unwary, there was no tinge of the cynic in his nature, and no moroseness nor misanthropy in his character. He took a cheerful view of things, and his general philosophy smoothed his way over the rough places of life. He believed there was no evil in the world except what man made for himself.

In the few last years of his life, when too old to attend to business, he would be seen, on pleasant days, about the railroad station, or in some favorite stopping-place, ready to tell, with a clear recollection, anything that happened in Lynn, or vicinity, during the last fifty or seventy-five years. He could begin with the "embargo," and what Marblehead people thought of it; of the war of 1812, when a good many people from that town moved over to Lynn; of the hard times of the war, and of the years following; and what they did n't have for breakfast in those days; what relation the Saugus Newhalls were to the Pudding-Hill Newhalls; or any other event of public or local importance that might be brought to his mind.

HENRY A. BREED.

One of our best known, and in some respects most remarkable men, was born in 1798, being the son of Thomas A. and Hannah N. Breed.

In April, 1800, his family removed to Salem; later, in 1811, to Mount Vernon, N. H.; and again, in 1812, returned to Lynn, residing at the Lynn Hotel. Here an old merchant boarder became interested in him, and when peace returned, in 1815, procured him a situation in the employ of Skinner & Hurd, of Charlestown, then considered one of the very foremost grocery houses in the country. Here Mr. Breed remained till his majority, and then, April 21, 1819, he returned to Lynn and opened a grocery of his own.

At this early period he had conceived the idea, as the purpose of his life, "to see what he could do for his native town." He at once engaged in all the reformatory enterprises that could be suggested. One of the first of these was the effort to have a stove placed in the Old Tunnel Church. Against much opposition this was done, and, of course, highly approved of afterward. This was in 1819. It was followed by a movement for setting shade-trees along most of the streets, to which he largely contributed. The old Lynn Mechanics Bank, first started in 1814, had thus far only a very imperfect system of business; this Mr. Breed undertook the

correction of, and gave it the first regular and satisfactory form it had ever had. At this time neither mutual insurance nor savings banks were known in the town; he set himself to create both, taking the agency of the Mutual Company, and writing the first policy of insurance ever made in the place. To develop the capacity of Lynn he also began the erection of dwellings, and other buildings, selling them to the people on very favorable terms; and in sixteen years he had thus increased the number of habitable structures in Lynn by the number of four hundred and sixteen.

But in 1836 he found that the unsettled state of public affairs would not further admit of operations on as generous a scale as he had proposed. The final result was that he became bankrupt for the sum of $900,000. Considering the causes that led to this indebtedness, and its very existence at such a time and among such a people, this failure must stand as a very remarkable case. It involved many others in its consequences; Nahant Bank went down for $150,000, and the Union Insurance Company for $50,000, Mr. Breed owning a fifth interest in each of these companies.

Thus, in the sixteen years business, he had lost the sum of $42,000; but he claims, no doubt with reason, that in that time he had created here $750,000 of new value, which was equal to the

whole town valuation for taxable purposes, when he came home in 1819.

After this, and a great variety of minor services in which he sought to benefit his native place, and doubtless did so, and after he had gone through with the painful "Eastern Land Speculation," losing some $200,000 thereby, a company of Boston merchants invited him to take charge of a new enterprise, which was the building of a new city and naval station at Brunswick, Ga. He went thither with a large force, opened a heavy trade in lumber, and during his stay of three years completed all, or most, of the company's design, which included a canal from the Altamaha to the Turtle river, a railroad from Brunswick to Tallahassee, or more than two hundred miles, a saw mill with $75,000 capital, and a hotel costing $50,000, as well as many lesser things.

During this time he was always engaged in settling up the ruins of his earlier misfortune. It was no small nor pleasant work. Six years were expired before a termination was at last afforded him, and then only by the United States bankrupt law.

Mr. Breed then resolved on trying the standard business of Lynn, and accordingly commenced the shoe business, locating himself in the old Lynn Hotel building. A variable fortune attended this effort; he had good success for a time, but ulti-

mately failed, yet with enough saved to settle in full with all the workmen employed.

By this time the memorable year of 1849 had arrived, and he was solicited by Boston parties to go into business in California. Having agreed, he arrived in San Francisco December 1st, when things were in their lowest condition. He had been made consignee of three ships' cargoes, and more than one strong man was ready to bid him welcome. By the courtesy and assistance of the late Thomas O. Larkin, he was introduced to General Valejo, at Benicia, after consulting with whom, both returned to San Francisco and formed a partnership for general merchandise and land business. Mr. Larkin furnishing $100,000 capital. This firm showed great enterprise; they built stores, planked the streets, constructed wharves, and dug canals. The town of Sutterville owes its origin to them. But they soon met their reverses. Six large fires consumed their property to an estimated value of several millions; and, though Mr. Breed considers his realized profits in California worth more than $500,000, his losses ran up to above $1,000,000, and he found it advisable to relinquish further effort in that direction.

On the 30th of May, 1857, Mr. Breed returned to Lynn with so little left him as only to reckon himself a poor man. For a time he looked to his horticultural skill, in which he held always a high

rank, for his daily living. But in 1858 the territory now called the "Highlands" began to attract notice, and he again adventured in the development and sale of lands. His movements in this cost him almost $10,000, rewarded only by the present discovery that the land would not sell. He was forced to leave it idle, where it lay for more than ten years.

Meantime the business of quartz milling was becoming of interest to the merchants of Boston, and Mr. Breed was invited to undertake the manufacture and management of a new machine for that purpose. He took hold of the affair, and formed a company with $150,000, which pursued the work for two years, and made $20,000. With this success he again started in Lynn in 1864, and formed a home company with $200,000, for the same business, to which was incidentally added the preparation of raw-bone fertilizers. It was this business that led to the erection of the large mill at the corner of Western avenue and Federal street. He went on successfully in this for a time, till 1866, but his old misfortune seemed to find him out, the company failed, and all the stock was lost, the building included.

In 1868 he again gave his attention to his Highland property, the popularity of which had considerably advanced. Since then he has made extensive improvements therein, laying out streets, investigating titles and erecting buildings, by which

the taxable value of the premises has been greatly increased; yet, at the present time, he intimates that he is more than likely to meet reverses that may undermine his entire possession.

Such is a very rapid sketch of the long career of one of the most remarkable of the business men of Lynn. At the age of eighty-two he is still among us in full health and vigor, with memory stocked with the notable things of the past, and a library of reference to the local historian. One of the most unselfish of men, he has never been lax in his efforts, so early commenced, for the good of his native place; yet it is not pleasant to have to add that none of these enterprises seem to have resulted in much good to him, though always well for others. As an example may be mentioned his founding the Lynn Mechanics Institute, about 1845, that built the block known as Exchange Hall, and was to provide a most worthy class of facilities for free education. Like so many more of his plans, it missed its specific mark but ripened into profit in a different way.

Mr. Breed was one of the original members and founders of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, surrounded by a circle of genial spirits, of whom he is now almost a sole survivor. In similar associations he has always found his great delight, and to-day realizes that his books and his garden have yielded him a surer return of happiness than the

absorbing pursuits of mankind that have so much drawn him away from their full enjoyment.

JOHN B. ALLEY.

John Bassett Alley was born in Lynn in 1817. He had only the small advantages of the public schools, and at the early age of fourteen years was apprenticed to Pelatiah Purinton to learn the shoemaker's trade. Mr. Purinton, a worthy member of the Society of Friends, had many apprentices, but declared that John was the best of them all, and he made a practical recognition of his faithful service by giving his apprentice his time when he was nineteen years old. Mr. Alley early developed those traits which marked his future life — industry, perseverance, a thirst for knowledge, and great business capacity. His love of reading ran in the direction of history and biography, and especially those branches relating to the political history of America, and the career of our public men. At an early age he had laid up an unusual store of information, and an extraordinary memory, especially of dates, placed at his command whatever his industry had gathered.

Having obtained his freedom he at once embarked in business. He bought a stock of goods

and sought a market for his venture in the West, then beginning that marvelous development hitherto without parallel in the world. His journey — part of it on the Mississippi — was beset with difficulties and dangers, but despite youth and inexperience, his first effort was a success. He now entered the shoe business, and soon after established himself in Boston as a dealer in shoe stock, and more especially sole leather. He soon became noted for those business qualities which marked his subsequent life. His intimate acquaintance with the principles of trade, and the soundness of his judgment, brought their sure results. His success as a merchant was soon manifest, and he took his place among the leading business men of the State.

From youth Mr. Alley showed an interest in the anti-slavery movement, and throughout his whole life has maintained a steady, consistent course in all his acts and utterances touching this, the greatest question of the time. He cast his first vote at a presidential election for the candidates of the Liberty Party. He was one of the organizers of the Free Soil Party, and was a candidate for presidential elector in 1848.

He early turned his attention to public affairs, and in the year 1850 — when the city government was established — was a member of the Board of Aldermen. In 1851 he was one of the Governor's Council, and in 1852 a member of the State Senate.

He was chosen a member of the State Constitutional Convention held in 1853.

In 1858 he was chosen Representative to Congress, the first and only native of Lynn who has held that high position. He served eight years, through the Thirty-sixth, Thirty-seventh, Thirty-eighth and Thirty-ninth Congress. He was a member of the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads through his entire term of service; was made Chairman of the Committee in the Thirty-eighth and Thirty-ninth Congress, and did very efficient work in behalf of those important interests. He was also a member of the Committee on the Bankrupt Law. In 1866 he was a delegate to the Philadelphia Loyalists' Convention.

Mr. Alley has twice visited Europe; the first time in 1860, as the representative of important mercantile interests, and again in 1869, making the acquaintance of prominent men in political and commercial circles.

For the last fourteen years Mr. Alley has held no public office; but his unabated interest in public affairs has divided his attention with the demands of an extensive business, and the pleasing duties of a large hospitality; his fine mansion, near the sea-shore, being the stopping place of many distinguished guests.

Mr. Alley's career as a public man and a prominent merchant has brought him in intimate relations

with nearly all the leading statesmen of the country, and with the foremost business men in commercial circles. Few men have a wider and more exact knowledge of the questions relating to the development of our material resources. The great railroad enterprises of the last twenty years engaged his special attention, and his large knowledge and practical judgment have made him an authority on these and kindred questions.

Few men are better qualified than he to furnish a book of reminiscences of the events of the last fifty years. His extensive acquaintance with public men, and his large business experience, combined with a memory unusually tenacious, place at his command materials too valuable to be lost. Especially minute is his knowledge of the social and industrial progress of our city; and a volume such as he could write would be an invaluable contribution to our local history.

THE VOTE OF LYNN SINCE 1788.

The following table shows the vote of Lynn — so far as recorded — for Governor and Presidential Electors, beginning in 1788, when the first presidential election was held, and ending with that of 1876, thus representing the vote in both State and National elections in each presidential year. In the years when no electors were chosen — or no vote recorded — the ballots cast for Representative to Congress have been given — so far as recorded — to represent the National vote of Lynn:

April 7, 1788.
For Governor —
John Hancock 62
Benjamin Lincoln . . 59
No vote for Electors recorded.

April 2, 1792.
For Governor —
John Hancock 46
Francis Dana 6
No record of Electors this year.

April 4, 1796.
For Governor —
Increase Sumner . . . 76
Samuel Adams . . . 53

November 7, 1796.
Elector —
John Norris 55
But one chosen according to the record.

March 3, 1800.
Representative to Congress —
Nathan Read 308
Jacob Crowninshield . 112
No vote for Electors recorded.

April 7, 1800.
For Governor —
Caleb Strong 113
Elbridge Gerry . . . 68

For Electors at large —
David Cobb, (Me.) . . 173
OliverWendell,(Mass.)173

April 7, 1804.
For Governor —
James Sullivan 272
Caleb Strong 145

April 4, 1808.
For Governor —
James Sullivan 418
Christopher Gore . . 273
There is no record of any election of Electors this year.
Representative to Congress —
Daniel Kilham 375
Benjamin Pickman . . 265

November 12, 1812.
Electors at large —
Harrison G. Otis . . 247
Nathan Dane 247
The record notes — not any for the Republicans.

April 6, 1812.
For Governor —
Elbridge Gerry . . . 488
Caleb Strong 321
Thomas Witt 1

April 1, 1816.
For Governor —
Samuel Dexter . . . 418
John Brooks 266
Representative to Congress —
Thomas Stephens . . 175
Nathaniel Silsbee . 235
No vote for Electors recorded.

1820
For Governor —
John Brooks 174
William Eustis 141
Electors at large —
William Phillips . . . 54
William Gray 51
B. W. Crowninshield . 71
Levi Lincoln 71

1824.
For Governor —
William Eustis . . . 626
Samuel Lathrop . . . 283
Electors at large —
William Gray 259
Levi Lincoln . . . 259
William Baylies . . . 20
William Reed 20

1828.
For Governor —
Levi Lincoln 116
Harrison Gray Otis . 4
Electors at large —
Thomas L. Winthrop ..346
Samuel Lathrop . . . 347
Nathan Willis 25
Harrison G. Otis . . 5
William Prescott . . . 5

1832.
For Governor —
Samuel Lathrop . . . 468
Levi Lincoln 212
Marcus Morton . . . 197
Electors at large —
John D. Williams . . 478
Charles Jackson . . . 225
Nathan Willis . . . 123

1836.
For Governor —
Marcus Morton . . . 708
Edward Everett . . . 424
Electors at large —
Nathan Willis 628
Seth Whitmarsh . . . 628
Nathaniel Silsbee . . 440
Edward A. Newton . . 440

1840.
For Governor —
Marcus Morton . . . 902

John Davis 888
George W. Johnson . 8
Electors at large —
William P. Walker . . 916
Ebenezer Fisher . . . 916
Isaac C. Bates 887
Peleg Sprague 887
Jesse Wheaton 10
Sylvester Judd 10

1844.

For Governor —
George Bancroft . . . 980
George N. Briggs . . 890
Samuel E. Sewell . . 103
Electors at large —
Gayton P. Osgood . . 958
Samuel C. Allen . . . 958
Abbott Lawrence . . 872
Lewis Strong 872
Joel Hayden 114
John G. Whittier . . . 114

1848.

For Governor —
Caleb Cushing 454
Stephen C. Phillips . 891
George N. Briggs . . 575
Frederic Robinson . . 160
Electors at large —
Charles G. Greene . . 728
Henry H. Childs . . . 728
Levi Lincoln 530
Edmund Dwight . . . 530
Samuel Hoar 895
William Jackson . . . 895

1852.

For Governor —
John H. Clifford . . . 924
Horace Mann 677
Henry W. Bishop . . 493
David Henshaw . . . 44
Electors at large —
Robert C. Winthrop . 799
George Bliss 801
Charles G. Greene . . 687
James S. Whitney . . 829
Stephen C. Phillips . 630
James Fowler 630

1856.

For Governor —
Henry J. Gardner . 1,691
Erasmus D. Beach . 530
George W. Gordon . 161
Electors at large —
Julius Rockwell . . 1,774
Thomas Colt 1,796
Nathaniel J. Lord . 523
Whiting Griswold . 525
William Appleton . 353
Chas. D. Stockbridge 252

1860.

For Governor —
John A. Andrew . . 1,572
Erasmus D. Beach . 712
Amos A. Lawrence . 475
Electors at large —
George Morey . . . 1,591
Reuben A. Chapman. 1,591
Isaac Davis 733
Charles Heebner . . 732
Levi Lincoln 343
Marshall P. Wilder . 343

1864.

For Governor —
John A. Andrew . . 2,017
Henry W. Paine . . 546
Electors at large —
Edward Everett . . 2,030
Whiting Griswold . 2,030
Robert C. Winthrop 541
Erasmus D. Beach . 541

1868.

For Governor —
William Claflin . . 2,461
John Quincy Adams. 1,041

Electors at large —
David Sears 2,735
John H. Clifford . . 2,732
Josiah G. Abbott . . 921
John R. Briggs . . 921

1872.

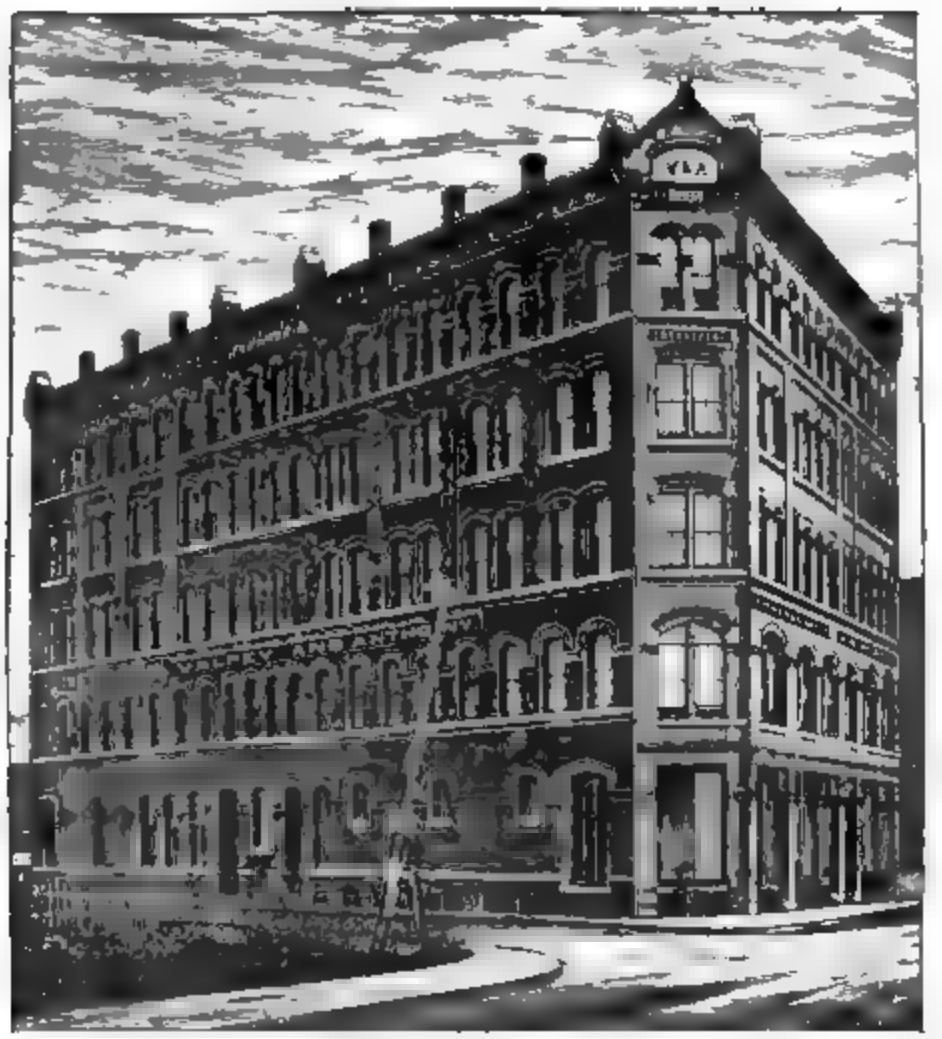
For Governor —
Wm. B. Washburn . 2,819
Francis W. Bird . . 1,422
Electors at large —
Ebenezer R. Hoar . 2,778
John M. Forbes . . 2,778
Chester W. Chapin . 1,395
Josiah G. Abbott . . 1,395

1876.

For Governor —
Alexander H. Rice . 2,520
Chas. Francis Adams 2,107
John I. Baker . . . 361
Electors at large —
Thomas Talbot . . 2,773
Stephen Salsbury . 2,775
William Gaston . . 2,235
Edward Avery . . . 2.266

SHOE FACTORIES OF LYNN.

The following table gives a list of most of the larger shoe factories which have been built upon the spot where they now stand within the last half century. The date when these were erected can be ascertained with a good degree of certainty. This list does not include several large establishments, composite in their character, and uncertain in their history. These have reached their present proportions by the enlargement of smaller buildings, with the necessary remodelling to fit them to meet the requirements of the present day. Some of these are made up of two old factories joined together, and reconstructed to keep pace with the revolution that has taken place within the last twenty years. When it is understood that one of these modern factories has a capacity of some twenty of the old-time establishments, an explanation will be found to the fact that the number of these factories does not correspond with the great increase of the shoe business of our city. Most of these are from four to six stories in height, and



MODERN SHOE FACTORY, LYNN, MASS.

cover an area of from 4000 to 10,000 feet of land. Those marked (b) denote brick, and (w) those constructed of wood. It will be seen that during the last ten years most of these structures were built of brick. Of the first seven given in this list only that built by Nathan Breed is now used as a shoe factory:

George Johnson, (w) North Common street, ... 1833
Nathan Breed, (w) Broad street, built in 1835
David Taylor, (b) corner of Commercial and Elm streets, . 1835
Josiah Clough, (b) Centre street, ... 1836
Nathan D. Chase, (b) Broad street, ... 1836
Christopher Robinson, (b) South Common street, ... 1848
Pratt & Boyce, (b) Broad street, ... 1850
John Wooldredge, (b) corner of Exchange and Mt. Vernon streets, ... 1851
S. M. Bubier's block, (w) corner of Oxford and Market streets, ... 1855
John Wooldredge, block extension (b) Mt. Vernon street, . 1858–9
Lucian Newhall's block, (w) cor. Exchange and Spring sts. . 1859
B. B. Breed's block, (w) 1860
Haskell's block, Union street, ... 1861
P. A. Chase's block, (w) Spring street, ... 1862
Thomas Stacy, (w) Exchange street, enlarged 1863
B. F. Spinney's block, (w) — moved from Union street to rear — built in 1864
Breed & Abbott's building, (b) corner of State and Brown streets, ... 1865
J. E. F. Marsh, (b) Market street, ... 1865
Theodore Attwill's block, (w) Munroe street, ... 1865
Exchange block, (b) Exchange street, ... 1867
John M. Newhall, (w) Union street, ... 1868
Brown Brothers, (b, stone front,) Union street, near Exchange street, ... 1868

Frazier's block, (b) corner of Market and Summer streets, built in 1858, burned in 1868, re-built in 1869
Johnson, Nichols & Ingalls, (b) Munroe street, ... 1869
Bubier's block, west side of Market street, built in 1866, burned in 1868, and re-built in 1869
Bubier's block, (b) east side of Market street, ... 1870
Dore's block, (w) Washington street, near Railroad 1870
Hussey & Musso's building, (w) Exchange street, remodeled, 1871
Spinney's block, (w) — west end, — Almont street, ... 1871
Patrick Lennox, (b) Market street, ... 1871
Spinney & Caldwell, Oxford street, ... 1871
Proctor & Ingalls' block, (w) Union street, ... 1871
Isaac Attwill, (w) built 1857, enlarged 1872
S. S. Ireson, (w) Munroe street, ... 1872
Breed & Sweetser's block, (b) between Railroad avenue and Union street, ... 1872
D. B. Moulton's block, Union street, ... 1872
Bennett & Barnard's block, (w) Willow street, ... 1872
Mower Brothers' block, (w) Willow street 1872
J. N. Smith's block, (w) Union street, ... 1872
Breed & Dole, (w) Oxford street, remodelled, ... 1872
Keene Brothers' block, (b) corner of Willow and Oxford streets, ... 1872–3
Jerome Ingalls' block, (b) Union street, ... 1874
John Mahon & Son, (b) 1874
John B. Johnson & Son's, (w) Central Avenue and Washington street, ... 1875
Lucian Newhall (w) Oxford street, between Willow street and Central avenue, ... 1875
Keene Brothers' block, (b) — north — Oxford street, . . 1875–6
A. F. Smith, (w) Oxford street, ... 1876
John Wooldredge, (b) Mount Vernon street, ... 1876
Sweetser's block, (b) corner of Oxford street and Central avenue, ... 1877
Fuller's block, (b) corner of Central and Railroad avenues . 1877
Bancroft's building, (w) Oxford street, ... 1877
D. H. Sweetser, (b) Willow street, near Liberty street, . . 1877

John Mahon & Son, (b) near Liberty street, ... 1877
A. B. Martin's block, (b) Market street, ... 1879
Valpey & Anthony's block, (b) corner of Central avenue and Liberty street, ... 1879
T. P. Richardson & Co., (b) Central avenue, ... 1879
P. Sherry's block, (b) Munroe street, ... 1879
B. F. Spinney's block, (b) Union street, ... 1880
C. B. Tebbett's block, (b) Willow street, ... 1880

POPULATION OF LYNN. 1830–1880.

A better understanding of the gain made between the years 1850 and 1860 will be obtained by mention of the fact that Swampscott was set off from Lynn in 1852, and Nahant in 1853.

1830,	6,138
1840,	9,367
1850,	14,257
1860,	19,083
1870,	28,233
1875,	32,600
1880 (estimated),	40,000

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

1825—Charles F. Lummus published the first newspaper (The Lynn *Mirror*) printed in Lynn. It appeared September 3.

1826—The Lynn Institution for Savings was incorporated June 20.

1828—The Lynn Mutual Fire Insurance Company was organized.
The Lynn Lyceum was established December 23.

1829—The first complete map of Lynn was made by Alonzo Lewis from a special survey.

1830—The Lynn *Record* was started by Alonzo Lewis January 23.
Railroad house, head of Market street, built by John B. Alley.

1831—The Essex *Democrat*, the third newspaper in Lynn, was published by Benjamin Mudge.
Coal first brought into Lynn by Henry A. Breed.

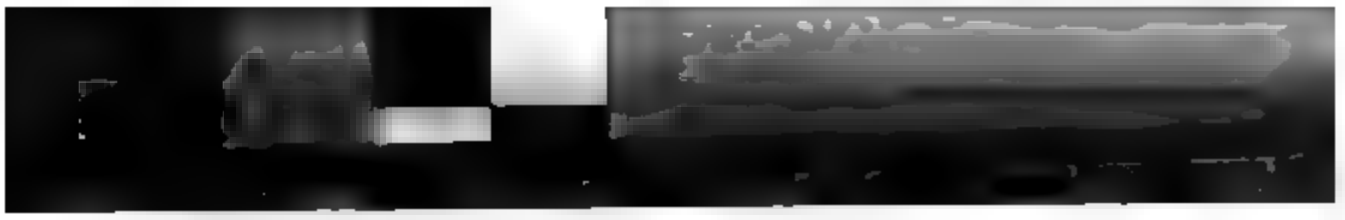
1832—The Weekly *Messenger*, the fourth newspaper published in Lynn, was first issued April 14.
The Lynn Anti-Slavery Society was organized April 25.
The Lynn Mechanics Fire and Marine Insurance Company incorporated.
Nahant Bank established.
Great anti-nullification meeting held in the Town Hall December 25.

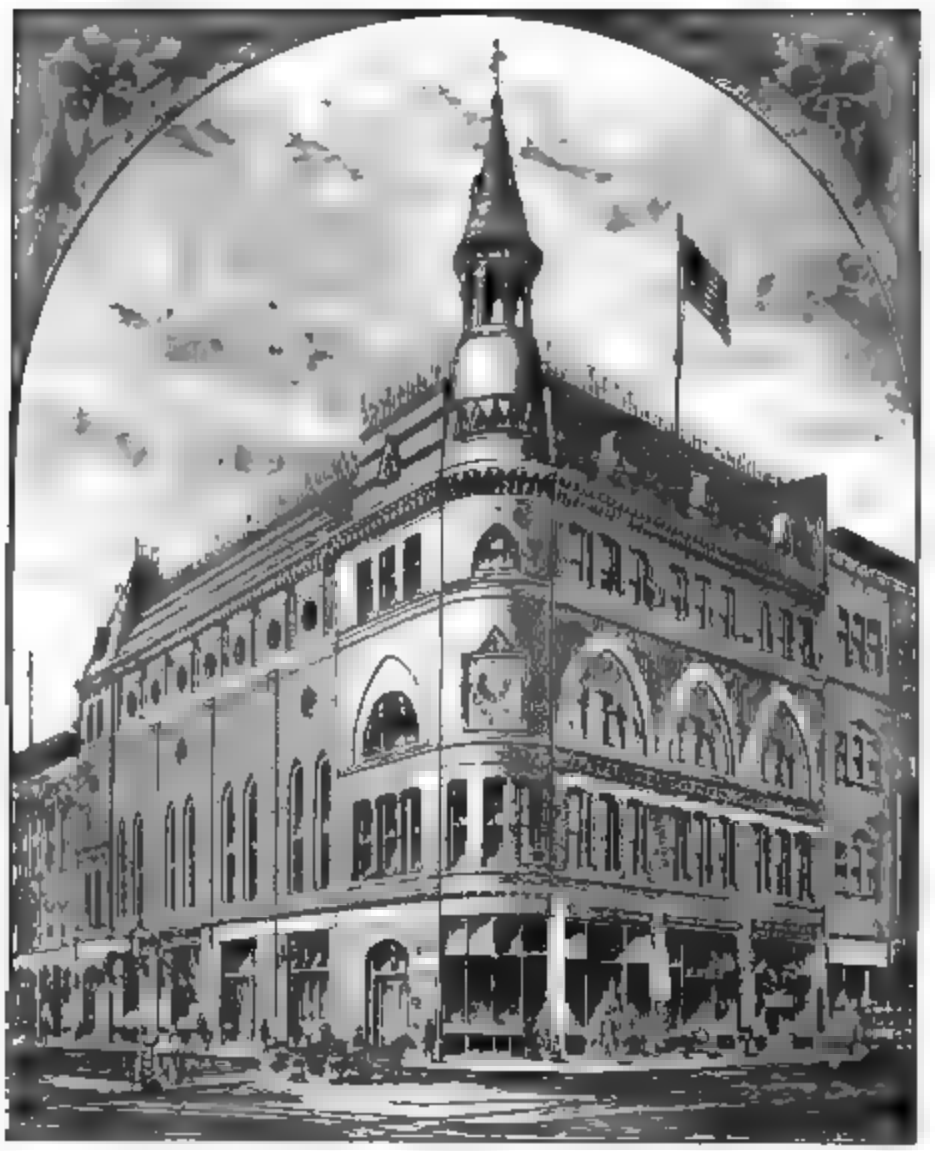
1833—Friction matches introduced.

1834—Meetings of Mount Carmel Lodge discontinued.

1835—George Thompson, the noted abolitionist, visited Lynn.
Old Mechanics Bank, Broad street, built.

1838—Eastern Railroad opened for travel August 18.





ODD FELLOWS' HALL, LYNN, MASS.

1838—The fifth newspaper, with the title of The Lynn *Freeman*, was issued November 10.

1839—Great storm, beginning December 15, and lasting three days, did immense damage, especially along the coast. Twenty vessels were wrecked at Swampscott, and seventeen dead bodies were found on the beach.

1840—The *Puritan*, a religious newspaper, was started this year in Lynn, with Rev. Parsons Cooke as editor.

1841—Lyceum Hall built, corner of Market and Summer streets.

First daguerreotype picture taken in Lynn, by James R. Newhall.

1842—Robert Trevett, a noted lawyer of Lynn, died January 13, aged 53.

The Essex County *Washingtonian*, a temperance paper, was started March 16. Christopher Robinson was proprietor.

1844—The Essex County *Whig*, a weekly newspaper, was begun this year.

1845—Mount Carmel Lodge of Free Masons, discontinued in 1834, was this year reorganized.

1846—The old Lynn Light Infantry, organized in 1812, was disbanded.

The Essex County Agricultural Society held its cattle show October 8.

1847—The Essex County Agricultural Fair was again held in Lynn September 29.

1848—Carriage road over harbor side of Long Beach built.

George Gray, the Lynn hermit, died February, aged 71.

1849—Lynn Police Court established.

1850—Lynn adopts a city form of government.

Pine Grove Cemetery consecrated July 24.

Ten hour system adopted. Bells ring at 6 P. M.

1851—Hiram Marble begins the excavation of Dungeon Rock.

1852—Louis Kossuth visits Lynn May 6.

Swampscott incorporated as a separate town.

1853—Nahant incorporated March 29.

Illuminating gas first used in Lynn January 13.

1853—Cars began to run over the Saugus branch railroad.
1855—City Charter amended, and the municipal year begins the first day in January.
1856—Sagamore Hotel built.
Egg Rock lighthouse first lighted September 15.
1857—Bark Federal wrecked—all on board lost—January 18.
1858—Telegraphic communication between Lynn and other places opened.
Catholic Cemetery consecrated November 4.
1859—Bark Vernon came ashore on Long Beach February 2.
1860—Shoemakers' strike begun in February.
First horse railroad cars run November 29.
Market street first lighted with gas December 7.
1861—Nahant Hotel burned September 12.
Lynn Light Infantry and Lynn City Guards start for the seat of war April 16, four days after the attack on Sumter.
1862—Great war meeting held on the Common August 31.
Soldiers' burial lot laid out in Pine Grove Cemetery.
1863—Boston and Lynn Horse Railroad Company began to run cars to Chelsea beach June 1.
1864—Frederic Tudor died February 6, aged 80.
Free delivery of letters from the post office.
First steam fire engine arrived in Lynn August 11.
1865—Corner stone of City Hall laid November 28.
1867—City Hall dedicated November 30.
1868—Great fire on Market street December 25; Frazier's and Bubier's blocks destroyed.
Five Cents Savings Bank building, Market Street, built.
1869—Factory of Edwin H. Johnson, and other buildings on Munroe street, destroyed by fire January 25.
Ireson street school-house built.
Shepard school-house built.
Tornado swept through Lynn September 8, doing much damage.
1870—Music Hall, on Central avenue, built.
1871—Young Men's Christian Association incorporated.
Electric fire-alarm introduced.

1871—Eastern railroad accident at Revere; 33 lives lost—11 from Lynn—and some 60 wounded.
1872—Cobbett school-house dedicated.
Ingalls school-house dedicated.
Bell placed in tower of City Hall.
Odd Fellows' Hall dedicated October 7.
Eastern railroad station, Central square, built.
Epizootic prevailed among horses in the latter part of the year; but few horses were able to travel.
Reservoir on Pine Hill built.
1873—Soldiers' monument, Park square, dedicated September 17.
Concrete crossings first laid.
Birch pond made by building dam across Birch brook.
Friends' Biennial Conference held in Nahant street Universalist church November 19.
1874—Home for aged women incorporated February 6.
Academy of Music, Market street, built.
Horse railroad extended to Upper Swampscott and Oakland Grove.
1875—United States Conference of Universalists held October 20.
1876—Engine house, on Federal street, built.
Centennial of the nation observed by services in the old Methodist church.
1878—Engine house built on Broad street.
Fence around the Park built.
1879—Horse railroad extended to Cemetery.
Two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of Lynn.
1879-80—Boyden's block (b), Union street, built.
1880—Young Men's Christian Association building, corner of Market and Liberty streets, built.
Horse railroad opened through Summer street to Central Station and Long Beach.

INDEX.

PAGE.

Adams Association..... 238
Alley, John B..... 468
Alexander..... 36
Anti-Masons..... 126
Anti-slavery movement just begun in 1830..... 126
Athenian Club..... 253
Argand burner..... 9
Arkwright..... 30
Awls, breaking..... 59, 62

"Barvel," a name given to the shoemaker's apron..... 38
Beating-out machine invented by Joseph B. Johnson..... 20
Bells in Lynn.....286, 408
Binding shoes 336–340
Black-strap 45, 46, 135, 136
Blanchard, Nathaniel (Cap'n Natty)..... 130
Books in shops..... 6
Boston..... 2, 3
Boston Gazette of 1764..... 13
Boys in shops..... 39, 44
Boys' wardrobe in old times..... 76, 81
Breed, Henry A..... 462
Bridges, Edward 12

Calvanism 6
Campaign of 1840.....174–193
Cash paid by a few bosses in old times.....119, 120
Catechism 5
Christian Association..... 253
Chronological table.....480–483
Churches of Lynn..... 438
Clam banks..... 8
Clothing, patched..... 10, 77
Cobbler..... 4

PAGE.
Common, Lynn 290–303
Common, buildings on the Common in 1825 299–302
Common, trees on 291–296
Contrast between fifty years ago and now 1–11
Congress boot first made 336
Congress boot, patent for granted to Charles Winslow 336
Cordials 54, 55
Credit in old times 103, 104
Crispin 4
Curtin, Enoch 267, 268

Dagyr, John Adams 13
Democratic Pavilion of 1840 187–193
Discussions in shoemakers' shops 5
Downing, Elijah 15
Drunkenness, other names given to 47

Eastern Railroad Company began operations 158
Emigration from New England 118
Engine Companies of Lynn 260–289
Engine, first drafting, used in Lynn 271
Electric telegraph 7
Engines, trials of 288, 289
Engines, trials of at fires 277, 278
Everett Debating Club 255
Exploring Circle 237

Factory system introduced 16
Factory system revolutionizes business 341
Fall River 3
Farming in 1830 ..... 2, 3
Fashions fifty years ago 71–85
Financial measures of Congress in 1837 171
Fires, frequency of false alarms of 287
Fish mess at Nahant 48
Franklin Club 235
Franklin Club, members of 235
Friends' school established 377
Friends' Society 400–403

Gardening, a good deal done in 1837 ..... 162, 163
Garrison, Wm. L 7
George's Banks 4
Gnomologian Society 238
Grahamism 222–229

PAGE.

Grand Banks..... 4
Grindstone, turning the..... 100
Grog, origin of the term..... 46

Hair cutting hardly a decorative art..... 37
"Heeling" first made a specialty..... 341
Houses, few tenements in Lynn in 1830..... 7
Houses generally owned by workmen..... .....121, 122
Hogs commonly kept..... 8

Howe, Elias, inventor of sewing machine..... 16

Instep leather, how used..... 333
Ireson, Benjamin.....109, 110
Ireson & Ingalls..... 108
Irish Literary Association..... 254
Jackson, President, visits Lynn..... 115

Kertland, Phillip, one of the first shoemakers of Lynn 12
Kneeboards..... 14
Kit improved 332, 333
Kit 6
Kit, list of shoemaker's.....31, 333
Kit, high value set upon certain pieces of..... 32
Kit passed round the shop..... 37

Labor, division in factories 343–345
Lamps, Japanned used in old times..... 9
Land, low price of in 1830..... 121
Lawrence..... 3
Lasts, improvements in.....333, 334
Lasts, block..... 334
Lasts, Kimball lasts first used..... 335
Lewis, Alonzo 439–454
Library Association.....252, 253
Library, Free Public..... 11
Literary Societies in Lynn 234–255
"Locofoco," when first used..... 99
Log cabin and hard cider campaign 174–187
Lowell, cotton, manufacture of..... 2, 3
Luxuries fifty years ago..... 9

McKay machine introduced into Lynn in 1862 by William Porter..... 19
McKay machine introduced..... 342
McKay machine first run by foot-power..... 343
Marblehead, commerce of..... 3

PAGE.
Market street, description of in 1830..... .....309, 310
Market street, names of those doing business on in 1831..... 313
Market street, buildings on in 1831.....311, 312
Mechanics' store 104–106
Missions, foreign just established..... 7
Morocco business since 1860.....329–331
Morocco business, amount done at present..... 331
Morocco business, amount done in 1860..... 328
Morocco business of Lynn in old times 320–328
Morocco dressing carried on secretly in old times..... 321
Moulton, Joseph, his knowledge of the morocco business..... 320
Moulton, John T..... 320
Mudge, Benjamin 15
Musical instruments, pianos, parlor organs and melodeons not in use in 1830..... 9

Nahant incorporated — see chronological table..... 481
Nantucket in 1830..... 2
New Bedford..... 2, 3
New England rum..... 53, 54
New England, seaports of..... 3
Newspaper, daily not seen as early as 1830..... 7
Newspapers, weekly often found in the shops..... 7
Nullification in 1830..... 7

Orders given as early as 1810..... 87
Order stores of West Lynn.....117, 118
Order system 86–122
Order system an improvement upon barter..... 89
Orders used as currency..... 102

Panic of 1837 146–173
Paper boxes unknown in old times..... 15
Paper boxes first made by Abner Jones about 1840..... 15
Paper shoe boxes..... 15, 16
Patterns, tin first used..... 17
Patterns, upper, machine for cutting..... 20, 21
Perkins, Uncle.....66–70
Pig killing — a pig chase.....55–58
Population of Lynn in 1810. 13
Population of Lynn, 1830 — 1880.....2, 479
Potatoes the chief garden crop in 1830..... 7
Prices, high, during the panic of 1837 .....164, 165
Public Libraries 256–259
Public Libraries, Free.... 11
Railroads..... 7

PAGE.

Railroads, negro cars on....231, 234
Religious societies in Lynn in 1830.... 5
Revolution in shoe business....16–22
Rights and lefts....81–85
Rubber boot.... 10
Rum, Jamaica....107, 108
Rum, New England.... 53–57

Salem.... 2
Salem, commerce of.... 3
Salt phrases used in shops.... 38–45
Saturday afternoon a half holiday.... 101
Schools, first of Lynn....357–397
School, one kept in different parts of the town.... 378
Schools, statistics of....388, 390, 391
School houses, first....364–384
School houses fifty years ago.... 10
Schools ungraded fifty years ago....10, 441
Schools crowded fifty years ago....10, 441
School report first made to the town.... 387
School report first printed.... 396
"Scrod," what Daniel Webster said of it.... 51
Scrapers, sharpening, a nice job.... 35
Shoulder-stick, cutting.... 35
Sermon discussed in shoemakers' shops.... 6
Sewing machine first used in Lynn 1852....16, 340
Shanks of very uncertain widths in old times.... 17, 18
Shoe boxes made by Elijah Downing in 1825.... 15
Shoe boxes did not come into general use till 1830 to 1840.... 15
Shoe business in 1830.... 3
Shoe business, early history of.... 12–15
Shoemaking carried on in old times in chimney corner.... 14
Shoemakers' shops in old times.... 14
Shoemaker's shop a school.... 4
Shoemakers, some of them "salt".... 38–45
Shoemaking in 1830.... 2
Shoemaking in olden time.... 23–70
Shoemaker's shop — its history....14, 23–66
Shoemaker's shop, berth in.... 24
Shoemaker's shop, coal used in.... 26
Shoemaker's shop, garret of.... 23, 24
Shoemaker's shop, fire places in.... 25
Shoemaker's shop, stoves in.... 25, 26
Shoemaker's shop, building fire in.... 27
Shoemaker's shop, singing in.... 6

PAGE.
Shoemakers' shops put to other uses..... 341
Shoemaker's shop, despotism sometimes seen in..... 65, 66
Shoes, how packed..... 15, 16
Shoes sent out of town to be bound..... 3
Shoes taken to market 15
Shoes, wide-toed the style between 1832 and 1837.....168, 169
Shop-tub, what made of..... 34
Shop-tub, shifting..... 34
Silsbee Street Debating Club, report of debate in.....225–229
Silsbee Street Debating Club, political complexion of.....199–209
Silsbee Street Debating Club.....194–233
Silsbee Street Debating Club, names of members..... 195
Silsbee Street Debating Club, questions discussed in..... 196
Snuffers..... 39
Social Union..... 236
Social Union, members of..... 236
Sole-leather, dealers in cut.....345–356
Sole-leather, statistics of cut..... 355
Sole-cutter invented by Richard Richards, of Lynn, patented 1844..... 19
Sole-cutting 345–356
Sole-cutting machines.....353, 354
Sole-leather wasted in old times..... 18, 19
Speculation between the years 1833 and 1837..... 120
Speculation in land, Eastern and Western 146–149
Stage coach..... 15
Stamp Act..... 12
Statistics of the population and products of the West in 1830-40 146–153
Stirrup 62–64
Stock, wetting..... 34
Stock, neck, worn in old times..... 76
Streets of Lynn fifty years ago 304–319
Streets, number of in Lynn..... 319
Streets, when opened 313–317
Styles of boots worn — took the name from great men..... 73
Swampscott incorporated — see chronological table..... 481

Tallow candles used in 1830 9
Taunton in 1830..... 3
Taylor, David, President of Whig Club..... 178
Telegraphic fire-alarm..... 289
Telephone 11
Thompson, William D.....452–461
Tinder-box, flint and steel used fifty years ago..... 27
Town Hall, the old 123–145
Town meeting, incidents of.....125–145

Filmed by Preservation 1991

PAGE.

Trees, fruit, not much cultivated in 1830..... 8
Trees, an association formed for setting out..... 295
Trees destroyed by tornado of September 8, 1869..... 296

Union Store orders..... 91–98
Union Store, goods carried home from in "little cart"..... 93
Village House..... 106

Wages between 1820 and 1830..... 89
Ward boundaries first established..... 371
Wards newly defined.....385, 386, 394, 395
Wax-making, art of..... 33
Webster, Daniel, at Log Cabin..... 184
West of 1830..... 118
Whigs, utter defeat of in 1840..... 193
Wood, William, did much to improve the Common..... 293
Woodend fifty years ago.....106–115
Woodend shoe manufacturers.....111–113
Wooldredge, John, first introduced sewing machines into Lynn 1852.... 16

Young Men's Debating Society.....239–243
Young Men's Debating Society, debate in.....243–252
Young Men's Debating Society, members of.....239, 240

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
3 9015 00863 7061

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

DATE DUE

MAR 27 1985
MAR 11 1985
APR 25 1987
APR 13 1987